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CHRIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE POLITICO-RELIGIOUS EXPECTATIONS OF THE JEWS.

IT IS a historical fact that certain nations, after having been subdued by another more powerful people, soon lose their ambition of national independence and in the course of time disappear as a national whole. That is to say, the subjected nation adapts itself to the national and social life of the conquerors, and thus undergoes a change which transforms its national characteristics, and it appears after a certain space of time in a shape different from its former national life and now conformed to that of the conquerors. This condition may be seen from time to time, but it is not the rule. It happens far oftener that in a nation that has been defeated and subjected by force of arms by another stronger and more powerful people takes place a vigorous reaction, and all hopes, desires and longings of the subdued people are now directed to throw off the yoke of servitude, to tear away the chains of dependency and to regain the former liberty and sovereignty. Such was the case with the Jewish people after the fall of Jerusalem and the conquest of Palestine by the Romans. The Jewish people, who had enjoyed sovereignty and independency for so many a century, now subjected and subdued by the Roman emperors, felt severely the burdens of their vassalage to Rome. They hated King Herod as a bloody tyrant and as a satellite of the Roman emperor, but they hated still more the Romans who maintained him

on the throne. As the numerous outbreaks of revolt prove, the hopes of the Jewish people were directed to overthrow the tyranny of the Romans and to free the country from the humiliating bondages of servitude and vassalage.

These national and political desires to regain the former liberty and sovereignty were still more intense, more ardent, more sincere, more lively and more vigorous in virtue of the most intimate connection between the religious and political life of the Jewish people. In all ages religion had exercised a more or less powerful influence upon the political views of nations. This intimate relation between political views and religious belief was under the ancient nations strongest in the Jewish people. Their political inclinations were mostly stimulated by their religious conceptions and that in such a degree that the political and religious history of the Jewish people is and was unseparable. From the very beginning the religious and the political life of the Jews formed more or less one whole, and that lasted throughout the centuries. Thus it may be easily understood that the Jewish people, conscious of being a race chosen by God, united their religious hopes with ambitions of a political nature.

In the days of political and national independency many Jews dreamt of an expansion of the Jewish realm over the whole world. They thought of a kingdom of God which would cover the face of the earth and which would be ruled by the chosen people of Israel. This politico-religious conception of a kingdom of God did not disappear with the loss of political independency, but was rather strengthened by the fact that the Jews in the time of national distress took refuge in their religious expectations, and thus based upon the promised coming of the Messiah their political hopes. Moreover, these conceptions were at that time common among the Jewish people as they were conscious that the time of the fulfillment of the prophecies of the Old Testament had approached and that the days of the destination of the chosen people drew near. How strong, in fact, these politico-religious expectations of the Jews at that time were we may realize when we consider the attitude of Christ's teaching towards them. But before we discuss this subject we have to examine the politico-religious expectations of the Jews at the time before Jesus Christ came into this world.

The Jews, being conscious of the approach of the promised Messiah, connected with His coming the beginning of the great kingdom of God as it was conceived by them. Erroneously they based their political expectations upon some passages of the Holy Scrip-

tures, and especially upon the book of the great prophet Daniel, which greatly influenced the Jewish conceptions of the Messianic idea. Daniel the Prophet on two occasions mentions the coming of a kingdom. First, after having revealed a dream to King Nabuchodonosor, the great prophet gives the following interpretation: "But in the days of those kingdoms the God of heaven will set up a kingdom that shall never be destroyed, and His kingdom shall not be delivered up to another people, and it shall break in pieces, and shall consume all these kingdoms, and itself shall stand for ever." (Daniel ii., 44.) The Jews drew from this passage of Daniel the Prophet the conclusion that the future Messianic kingdom "shall break in pieces" all other kingdoms; that is to say, that the future realm of the Messiah shall conquer by force of arms the opposing kingdoms. This interpretation was seemingly justified—according to the Jewish opinion—by the seventh chapter of the same prophet when he speaks again of the future Messianic kingdom after having given an explanation of his vision of the four beasts, signifying four kingdoms. Reviewing his former statement, the prophet says: "And that the kingdom, and power and the greatness of the kingdom, under the whole heaven, may be given to the people of the saints of the Most High: whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all kings shall serve Him and shall obey Him." (Daniel vii., 27.) Thus the Jews committed the error of thinking that the sentence—"the people of the saints of the Most High"—referred to themselves as the "race chosen by God," and by doing so they—the "saints of the Most High"—expected a glorious future for the Jewish nation as a universal and everlasting kingdom.

However, a closer investigation of the two passages in question will show that in both cases "the kingdom of God," which was erroneously held by the Jews as the future kingdom of the race of Israel, was described by the great prophet as a kingdom of a very different kind; namely, as a kingdom which stands in direct opposition to the other earthly kingdoms. For, in the first prophecy, the kingdom which shall stand forever and which shall break in pieces shall consume all other kingdoms was signified by "a stone cut out of a mountain without hands," thus indicating that the new kingdom was of a new and very different nature—not a part of the former earthly organization, but of material derived from a higher plane and performing the destruction of the four earthly kingdoms by some power which is beyond human power, beyond human hands. Analogically to that, in the seventh chapter of Daniel's vision the four beasts signifying four kingdoms were suc-

ceeded by a creature of a very different nature, namely, by a man "one like the son of man . . . coming with the clouds of heaven" (Daniel vii., 13), representing "the people of the saints of the Most High." As in the above-mentioned prophecy the future kingdom was foretold as one which was to come down from heaven and was to fill the whole earth, but which was in virtue of its coming from above of another category than earthly kingdoms, being in this world, but not of this world.

Unable to understand the real nature of the future kingdom of the Messiah, it was of the greatest difficulty for the Jewish mind to think of a spiritual kingdom. For the Jews imagined the kingdom would be of the same form as they saw in those days. In the ancient age the spiritual power was not allied, but subordinate to the civil throughout the Gentile world. Religion as we see it, for instance, in the Roman Empire was State religion. The office of the representative of the spiritual sphere there was that of the Pontifex Maximus, and it was exercised by the Emperor. The Gentile priesthood was subjected to the civil power. Among the Jews, on the other hand, the religious sphere was of a higher order and supreme to that of civil power, but both religion and civil affairs were so intimately connected that religion and State formed one whole. Thus not comprehending the true nature of a spiritual kingdom, the Jewish conception of the future Messianic kingdom was of a material form. That was the easier done, as the idea then prevailing about the Messiah was in its highest form that of a supernatural being, "without dreaming of a Messiah who was God."¹ To put it in one word: As the Hebrew mind was unable to think of a divine nature and a human nature united in the one Person of the Messiah, so the people of the Old Testament could not imagine a supernatural society in the world and yet supreme to the powers of this world.

To give to the reader an idea of how current among the Jews of the time before Christ the opinion of the coming of a great kingdom of Israel and its supposed constitution was, we will outline a few passages of non-canonical books. These books were not inspired, and thus being children of the philosophy and religious conceptions of their own time, they enable us to understand the expectations then common. The picture of the future kingdom of Israel as given in the oldest Sibyllines, which appeared about 140 B. C., may best be summed up as follows:

"The heathen nations will perish by war, sword and fire, because they lifted their spears against the temple, (Sibyll. iii., 663-697.) Then will the children of God live in peace and quietness, because

the hand of the Holy One protects them. (698-709.) And the heathen nations seeing this will be encouraged to bless and praise God, to send gifts to His temple and to accept His law, because it is the most just in all the world. (710-726.) Peace will then prevail among all the kings of the earth. (743-760.) And God will set up an *eternal kingdom over all men*. Men will bring offerings to the temple of God from all parts of the earth. The prophets of God will lay down the sword, for they are judges of men and just kings. And God will dwell upon Zion and universal peace will prevail upon earth."² (766-794.)

In the apocryphal book of the Psalterium Salamonis, which was composed after Jerusalem had fallen under the heathen rule of the Romans, we meet likewise with a more detailed description of the shape of the future kingdom of God. "He"—the author—"hopes that God will raise up a prince of the House of David to rule over Israel, to crush her enemies, and to cleanse Jerusalem from the heathen (xvii., 23-27). He will gather a holy people, and will judge the tribes of the nation, and not suffer unrighteousness in their midst; He will divide them in the land according to their tribes, and no stranger shall dwell among them (xvii., 28-31). The heathen nations will serve Him and will come to Jerusalem, to bring the wearied children of Israel gifts and to see the glory of the Lord. He is a righteous king and one taught of God (xvii., 32-35). And there is no unrighteousness in His days, for all are saints. And the King is the Lord's anointed. He will not place His trust in horse or rider. For the Lord Himself is His King. And he He will strike the earth with the Word of His mouth for ever (xvii., 36-39). He will bless the people of the Lord with wisdom; and He is pure from sin; and He will rule over a great people, and not be weak. For God makes Him strong by His holy Spirit. He will lead them all in holiness, and there is no pride among them (xvii., 40-46). This is the beauty of the King of Israel. Happy are they who are born in His days"³ (xvii., 47-51).

The description of the future kingdom of God becomes more colored in the apagraphical book of the "Assumptio Mosis," which was written in the first years of the Christian era. "Then"—says the author of the same in his tenth chapter—"will His kingdom appear among all creatures, and the devil will have an end, and sorrow will disappear with Him. Then will the Heavenly One

¹ Justin, Dialog. with Trypho, 49, Otto, II., 164, quoted by Tixeront, "History of Dogmas," Vol. I., p. 40.

² Schürer, "History of the Jewish People," II. Div. Vol. II., p. 140 f.

³ Ibid., p. 142 f.

arise from the seat of His kingdom and will come from His holy habitation with wrath and anger for His children's sake, and the earth will tremble to its ends, and the high mountains be lowered and the hills fall. . . . Then will the Most High God, the alone Eternal, come forth to chastise the heathens and destroy all idols. Then wilt thou be happy, O Israel, and wilt tread upon the neck and wings of the eagle. And God will exalt thee and make thee soar to the firmament, and thou wilt thence look down upon thine enemies on earth, and shalt see them and rejoice, and give thanks and acknowledge thy Creator."⁴

These national hopes were not only common among the people, but had also penetrated into the scientific discussions of the scholars of that time, for the greatest of the learned of that age, the moralist Philo, tells us of his politico-religious expectations in the following way: "Though they (the Israelites) should be in the ends of the earth as slaves among their enemies, who have taken them captive, yet will they all be set at liberty at a given sign on one day, because their sudden turning to virtue astonishes their masters. For they will release them because they are ashamed of bearing rule over their betters. When then this unexpected freedom is bestowed on those who were before scattered in Hellas and in barbarous countries, on islands and on the continent, they will hasten with one impulse from all quarters to the place pointed out to them, led by a Divine superhuman appearance, which, invisible to all others, is visible only to the delivered. . . . When then they have arrived the ruined cities will be rebuilt, and the desert reinhabited, and the barren land become fertile."⁵ That time will be so peaceful and happy that even the wild beasts, as the lions, panthers, elephants, tigers, etc., will become tame and "will respect man as their natural lord."⁶ Another passage of the same scholar, dealing with the same subject, reads as follows:

"Then says the prophecy (LXX., Num. xxiv., 7) a man who goes to battle and makes war shall go forth and subdue great and populous nations, God Himself sending help to His saints. This consists in unshaken boldness of mind and invincible strength of body, qualities each of which singly is terrible to enemies, but which when combined nothing is able to resist. But some of the enemies are, as the prophecy says, not even worthy to perish by the hand of man. Against them He (God) will send swarms of wasps, who fight to a shameful overthrow for the saints. But these . . . will not only have certain victory in battle without bloodshed,

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 144 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

but also invincible power of government for the welfare of their subjects, who will submit from either love, fear or reverence. For they (the saints) possess three qualities, which are the greatest, and which found an indestructible dominion: Holiness, great power and benevolence . . . the first of which produces reverence, the second fear, the third love, but if they are harmoniously combined in the soul they produce subjects who are obedient to their rulers.”⁷ (Section 16.)

As we saw, it was believed by many that the coming of the future kingdom of God was to be preceded by a period of tribulation and perplexity. Many Jews supposed that the arrival of the great kingdom of God was to be expected after the end of the world. In this case the expression “the end of the world” does not mean the annihilation of this world, but the destruction of the present order in the world. Then the world will continue to exist, but in a more glorious form, namely, in the form of the “kingdom of God.” Whatever may happen, a period of tribulation had to precede the coming of the future happiness, and many Jews considered their present state of dependency and subjection under the domination of the heathens as the approach of that great event. Next, Elias the Prophet was expected as the immediate forerunner “who was to prepare the way of the Lord.” Then suddenly He Himself, the appointed King of Israel, the anointed of God, the Messiah, will appear. (In the Book of Enoch the appearing of the Messiah is placed after the judgment.) Immediately after His coming the heathen powers will meet together to make their last attack against the Messias or against the people of God, but these hostile powers will be destroyed. Revengeful as the Jewish character was, the complete destruction of their enemies was one of the great moments in the national expectations, and in the satisfaction of their vindictiveness many Jews saw parts of the glory of their future happiness. After this destruction of the hostile powers the Messianic kingdom will be established in the Holy Land, with Jerusalem as its capital. But at first Jerusalem has to be renovated. This will be done, according to the simplest imagination of the Jewish mind, by cleaning out of the Holy City all heathens. After the destruction of Jerusalem the idea of a rebuilding of the same to an eternal duration became most current. (Shemoneh Esreh, 14th Berachah.) This expectation, however, did not disagree with the view that there exists already in heaven a far more glorious Jerusalem than the one on earth, and that that heavenly Jerusalem will, when the Messias comes, descend to earth and will surpass

⁷ Ibid., p. 147 f.

in beauty and magnificence the former earthly one. Of course, all the Israelites, dispersed throughout the world, will assemble and gather to share in the kingdom of glory in Palestine with the Messiah Himself at its head. This kingdom of God has its centre in the Holy Land, but in spite of this it will not be confined by the borders of Palestine. It will comprise the whole world and include also the Gentile nations, for they will acknowledge the God of Israel. Thus war, discord, fights and quarrels will disappear and everywhere will be found joy and happiness, as the Messiah will govern His kingdom in justice and righteousness. Often eschatological expectations are mixed up with the politico-religious, so that the living will not die in that kingdom and the deceased also will participate in the great glory of Israel. With regard to the eschatology, there existed various views among the Jewish people. Some place the resurrection of the dead and the last judgment before the establishment of the Messianic kingdom and give to the glory of the latter an everlasting duration. Others believed that the kingdom of God on earth would be limited with regard to its duration and that after its conclusion the resurrection of the dead and the last judgment would take place, followed by the eternal glory in heaven or eternal condemnation in hell.⁸

These conceptions concerning the Messianic kingdom were so general that they found entrance into the daily prayers of the Jews, and thus every Israelite—women, slaves and children not excepted—was reminded three times every day of the supposed constitution of the future kingdom of God, when he prayed the Shemoneh Esreh. It may be noteworthy that “although this prayer must have virtually attained its present form about A. D. 70-100, nevertheless, its groundwork may safely be regarded as considerably more ancient.” Presupposing the correctness of that remark, allow me to quote some verses of its, illustrating the train of ideas of the Jewish people at the time of Jesus Christ. In the tenth, eleventh, fourteenth and seventeenth Berachahs the Shemoneh Esreh says: “Sound with the great trumpet to announce our freedom; and set up a standard to collect our captives, and gather us together from the four corners of the earth. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who gatherest the outcasts of Thy people Israel.” “O restore our judges as formerly, and our counsellors as at the beginning; and remove from us sorrow and sighing; and reign over us, Thou, O Lord, alone, in grace and mercy; and justify us. Blessed art Thou, O Lord the King, for Thou lovest righteousness

⁸ Further details on this subject are given by Schürer, “History of the Jewish People,” II. Div. II. Vol., Sec. 29, III. Systematic Statement, pp. 154-183.

and justice." "And to Jerusalem, Thy city, return with compassion, and dwell therein as Thou hast promised; and rebuild her speedily in our days, a structure everlasting; and the throne of David speedily establish therein. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the builder of Jerusalem." "Be pleased, O Lord our God, with Thy people Israel, and with their prayers, and restore the sacrificial service to the Holy of Holies of Thy house; and the offerings of Israel and their prayers in love do Thou accept with favor; and may the worship of Israel Thy people be ever pleasing. O that our eyes may behold Thy return to Zion with mercy, Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who restorest Thy glory unto Zion."⁹

These few quotations taken from Jewish writers may be sufficient to show and demonstrate the popular ideas and conceptions concerning the expected kingdom of Israel as they were common and current before and at the time of Christ's coming. It may be emphasized that these politico-religious expectations were spread throughout the Jewish communities. The fulfillment was vividly and ardently expected by the common mass of the people as well as by the learned and wise men, who discussed the question and took it into the realm of their scientific dissertations. The canonical books of the Old Testament had give certain revelations concerning the future kingdom of God, but the people transformed these revelations into expectations of a national character and translated them into a language, which rather satisfied their political hopes and national aspirations than preserved the revelation of God in its original form and meaning. The prophecies and the various revelations of the Old Testament were well known by every one who was a child of Jewish parents. The contents of the Old Law were before the mind of every Jew and he was well acquainted with every letter of the sacred text. Yet human weakness and national passion has exercised—nay, fevered—the imagination and fancy of the people, and instead of keeping intact and preserving the mysteries of God's revelations, dazzled and blinded and at the same time inquisitive, curious and aiming to discover a deeper meaning, the people gave to those divine revelations a wrong interpretation, namely, that of "a future kingdom of Israel."

In the midst of this "milieu" of ideas, conceptions, thoughts, expectations and aspirations, Jesus Christ, the promised Messiah, appeared. He had come as (1) priest, (2) teacher and (3) king. Corresponding to these His offices He was to offer (as priest) the great sacrifice at Calvary in order to satisfy the justice of God. To apply the fruits of this infinite sacrifice to mankind, Jesus' task

⁹ Ibid., pp. 86-87.

was that to bring men to an understanding of their own redemption, accomplished at Calvary, by His teaching (acting as teacher) and to establish an institution which by continuing His Sacrifice in an unbloody manner would preserve His doctrine and would lead man to his eternal destination (thus being leader of man, or pastor-king). Christ's task, therefore, consisted, next to the self-sacrifice of Calvary, to go around as teacher dispensing His divine doctrine, and to establish His kingdom in a visible form as an institution for preserving and continuing His earthly task; that is to say, to found the Church. As was the natural course at first Christ dispensed His doctrine, and then, while man was little by little arriving at an understanding of it, prepared gradually the establishment of His kingdom in a visible form.

The slow but permanent process of the way of Christ in establishing His visible kingdom seems to be incomprehensible to Protestant theologians. They see the activity of Christ, but the gradual establishment of Christ's kingdom in a visible shape seems "un-historical" to them. Seemingly, they would have favored a reverse order. According to Protestant teachers, the founding of a Church should have preceded the dispensation of the doctrine, or at least the act of the foundation of the Church should have been more significant or obvious and should have been more emphasized in the teaching system of Our Lord. This idea may be likened to the founding of a university or high school after whose establishment the lessons and instructions are given. Or they ask why the founding of the Church has not been an act, documented, witnessed, signed, sealed, registered, sworn, etc., conforming to the way we nowadays proceed when founding a society or company. Even if we do not answer this advice by pointing to the fact that nowadays many institutions are legally established without any official act before a public tribunal or notary, we may remind the reader of the "milieu" of ideas of the Jews of those days in which Jesus Christ was confronted by the difficult task of establishing His kingdom, His Church. Very likely, the people around Jesus, filled with the conceptions of their time and feverish in the expectation of the kingdom of Israel, would have been overpowered by their impatience, and Jesus would have played the rôle of a revolutionist or, if successful, a Mohammed. "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts i., 6.) The mission of Christ would have been seriously endangered. Moreover, of what value would it have been if the Evangelists would have reported every detail concerning the founding of the visible society which constituted the kingdom of God on earth in a visible form—

the Church? For the idea of an invisible Church, as it is nowadays taught by Protestants, was to their readers inconceivable. The holy writers had reported what Jesus had taught them about the sacraments, the moral and doctrinal truths, about the nature of everything that concerned the religious sphere, and by doing so they had sufficiently outlined the essentials of the Church as a visible society.

"The simple statement of the fact was enough to show that for the Christians themselves these details were not needed to be expressed in a writing which might fall into other than Christian hands. But to lay them open to the heathen empire, in the midst of which the Church was rising, would have constituted a gratuitous danger, and would have contradicted what we know to have been the discipline of discretion long practiced during the era of persecution."¹⁰ For us, children of the twentieth century, the following consideration suffices: "As the governments of England, or France, or Russia, or China, occupy a portion of the earth, and by that fact are recognized quite independently of any records which attest their rise and growth, so the far greater and more widely spread government of the Church exists, and is in full daily action, independently of any records which attest its origin."¹¹

As the work represents its master, so and in a higher degree the divine kingdom of God on earth reflects the essential characteristics of its author and origin, Jesus Christ. From the essentials of the kingdom we are able to conclude to the essentials of its king and from the characteristics of the king it is not far to the conclusions concerning the kingdom itself. Based upon this principle, we find the characteristic features of God's kingdom on earth in the essentials of the person of Christ Himself. Canonical as well as apocryphal books of the Old Testament pointed to the promised origin of the future kingdom as "the Son of David." The Founder of the new kingdom has to be "of the seed of David." And, indeed, the very first word of the New Testament, written by St. Matthew, says: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the Son of David." (Matt. i., 1.) After this introduction the Evangelist of the first Gospel gives us the genealogy of Christ. During His lifetime our Blessed Lord is often addressed with the same title and that by single individuals as well as by the multitude. Jesus Himself accepts this honor of being the Son of David, and He performs His miracles accordingly. "Have mercy on us, O Son of David," cried out the poor, blind, sick and

¹⁰ T. W. Allies, "The Formation of Christendom," Vol. IV., p. 166.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

helpless men. Likewise, the multitudes asked: "Is not this the Son of David?" (Matt. xii., 23.) Even our Lord Himself pointed to His Davidic descent when He asked the Pharisees: "What think you of Christ, whose Son is He?" And they answered: "David's." (Matt. xxii., 42.) On the occasion of His solemn entrance into Jerusalem Jesus was publicly proclaimed as "the Son of David" by the multitudes. "Hosanna to the Son of David." (Matt. xxi., 9.) Thus we see Jesus being recognized by His own people as of Davidic descent, or as "the Son of David," and He Himself fully accepts this dignity and this title without any restriction.

The "Hosanna" to the Son of David does not only involve the Jewish acknowledgment that Jews belonged to the royal house of David. The Hosanna of the Jews goes farther than that. It includes the higher conception of Jesus being the promised Son of David in whom the Messianic prophecies will have their fulfillment. The "Son of David" is the promised *Messias*—the Christ. This His Messianic dignity was explicitly claimed by Jesus. He applies to Himself the words of the prophecies. He demands the belief in Him as the *Messias*, and upon that very confession St. Peter is invested with the primacy. In His own name He performs numerous miracles. He Himself is convinced of His Messianic dignity, and he claims to be the promised *Messiah* even in view of death before the highest Jewish court, which was the Sanhedrin.

As we have seen that He claimed to be the Son of David and the promised *Messias*, Jesus stood as far as that exactly upon the "nivean" of the Jewish mind. He tells them that He is the one who was expected by them. And as the people see the numerous miracles He performs by virtue of His Messianic dignity, they want to proclaim Him their King. Even after Jesus was delivered into the hands of His judges, the Sanhedrin is unable to sentence Him to death on account of His claim to be the *Messias*—as the Jews understood the word. Jesus, knowing the ideas which the Jews connected with that word, gave them to understand that He attached comparatively little importance to the answer to this question which might receive a common interpretation, "Thou hast said it"—that I am the *Messias*—namely, as your (Jewish) mind may conceive the word. But this His answer was followed by Christ's own interpretation which stated His claim to divinity: "Nevertheless I say to you, hereafter you shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the clouds of heaven." (Matt. xxvi., 64.) It was not before this claim to divinity that Jesus was sentenced to death. Thus

the Sanhedrin had come in its official act to the very same decision at which the people had already arrived some time before, namely, the occasion after the miraculous event of the feeding of five thousand men with five loaves. The people, recognizing in Jesus the promised Messiah, wanted to make Him their King. Jesus, however, whose aim was not to satisfy the worldly expectations of the Jews and to become an earthly king, showed to the Jews the next morning at Capharnaum that He had performed that miracle in order to prepare them for the far greater miracle of the Holy Eucharist, which He now promised and which sacrament includes essentially the belief in the divinity of Christ. The people left Him; St. Peter's confession of Christ's divinity followed.

To sum up: The people are not opposed to Christ's claim to be the promised Messiah and the Sanhedrin is unable to announce the death sentence on account of that very same claim; as both of them, people and high court, at first interpreted the Messianic claim of Christ according to their lower popular conception. But as soon as Christ pointed to His divinity and to His Divine Sonship the people left Him and the Sanhedrin sentenced Him to death. Jesus had gone further than the popular conceptions concerning the Messianic King reached.

This hypostatic union of divinity and humanity in the one person of Jesus Christ pre-reflects the essential characteristics of the kingdom of Christ. As the sacred personality of the Messianic King has its origin in the two orders, the natural one by its true humanity and the supernatural one by its true divinity, so, although in a more moderate way, His work, the kingdom of Christ touches upon the two orders. It is a real, true kingdom, which is in this world analagous to its type, the sacred human body of Christ having been taken from the human race and subjected to the laws of humanity as long as Jesus was living on earth. At the same time, it is a kingdom which is not of this world, reaching the supernatural order by its origin derived from the hands of a Divine Founder. Moreover, it is of the supernatural order concerning its sphere as a kingdom of grace, as the kingdom which claims the right to rule the souls of men. It is a kingdom in this world, but not of the order of this world like other earthly kingdoms; it is a kingdom of a supernatural order in a natural form.

Having now arrived at the essentials of the kingdom of God, we will get a closer view of its characteristic features and penetrate deeper into its real form if we discuss the personal tasks the Founder of the kingdom had to perform. He was announced and foretold by the prophets of the Old Testament as a (1) prophet

or teacher, as a (2) priest and as a (3) pastor or king. Christ Himself claimed that it was His mission to fulfil this triple office. (1) He was teacher when dispensing His divine doctrine and conferring the same teaching power upon His Apostles. "Going therefore, teach ye all nations." (Matt. xxviii. 19.) (2) Priest He was when he offered the bloody sacrifice at Calvary and ordered His Apostles and their successors to continue it in an unbloody manner in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. "Do this for a commemoration of Me." (Luke xxii., 19.) Finally (3), as King, He was addressed at His entrance into the world, "Where is He that is born King of the Jews?" (Matt ii., 2.) And as King He was dismissed at Calvary: "This is Jesus, the King of the Jews." (Matt. xxvii., 37.) Not only did Christ receive from others the honor of being King, but He Himself proclaimed during His life His royal dignity and His office of founder of a kingdom: the one to be, whose mission it is to seek and save what had perished (Luke xix., 10) and He conferred this His office upon St. Peter when saying: "Feed My lambs, feed My sheep." (Matt. xvi., 19.)

We see the triple office of Christ continued and conferred upon the Apostles and their successors. Thus each part of this triple office proceeds—let us say—in a parallel manner from its origin, Jesus Christ, and is, likewise, continued in a similar form throughout the centuries. As now Christ's (1) priest-office at Calvary is continued in an unbloody way in the visible sacrifice of the Holy Mass, and as Christ's (2) teaching-office is of everlasting duration in a visible form (Pope, Bishops, councils, etc.) throughout our time and the universe, so, consequently, in an equivalent manner has the royal (3) office to be permanent in a visible form, without limitation in time and extension. Or how would Christ be a real King had He left no real visible kingdom on earth, that is to say: Had He left no visible Church? By this logical way of reasoning we arrive at the conclusion: The kingdom of God on earth in its visible form is the Church.

By revealing the mysteries concerning His sacred personality, Christ had given—at least in some way—the definition of His kingdom. And, indeed, we see that the gradual unveiling of the mysteries of the divinity and humanity in the one person of Christ together with the discharging of His triple office is accompanied in a gradual way by the revealing of the essentials of the true character of His kingdom. For as man was to understand the divinity of Christ and the nature of His triple office, man was also, although gradually led to understand the real nature of the new kingdom. little by little men came to the true knowledge of the new kingdom.

First, however, any discussion concerning the constitution of the kingdom was set aside by Our Divine Saviour as a matter of less significance. Before entering on the explanation of the entirely new character of His kingdom, "Christ had to transform the popular idea little by little . . . after having secured His personal influence by miracles and by the authority of His preaching."¹² "Had Jesus made His revelations too suddenly it would have surprised and bewildered men, for it had to encounter race prejudices and ardently cherished hopes,"¹³ as we have seen them in the beginning of our study. His task was at first not directly "to check at once the strong tendency towards a kingdom to be established for the greater glory of the Jews, but to make Himself master of the movement by turning it towards Himself" and His kingdom.¹⁴ Thus we see that "Jesus adopts the phrase of 'the kingdom,' which is in every one's mouth."¹⁵ In this way "the popular idea was, in a sense, the starting point of His apostolate."¹⁶

In order to satisfy the Jewish mind, which was expecting the coming of "the great kingdom of Israel," Christ speaks of a "kingdom," but does not call it the "kingdom of Israel"; He describes His kingdom as that "of God" or "or heaven." A terminological discussion on that subject will enable us to conceive more clearly what Christ meant when speaking of the "kingdom of God" or the "kingdom of heaven."

First, let us ask with Pater Vincent Rose, O. P.: "What is the force of the word 'Basileia?'" "All the critics assert," he says, "that both in the Old Testament and in Jewish literature the word 'malhuth,' when applied to God, always signifies the royal government of God and never the kingdom of God. An Oriental empire, to-day as in antiquity, Dalman observes, is not a state comprising a people or a land in our Latin or Anglo-Saxon acceptation, but a dominion, a sovereignty, exercised over a particular territory. The original meaning of 'He Basileia tou Theou' is not, therefore, the 'kingdom of God,' but the 'sovereignty of God.' Jesus in preaching this 'Basileia' announces that God is about to reign as sovereign and absolute master, to assume the government of the world. Those over whom He will exercise this royal sway will form His empire, His state, His kingdom."¹⁷

As to the second part of the term, we may observe that the ex-

¹² Rose: "Studies on the Gospels," p. 104.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., 103.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Rose: "Studies on the Gospels," p. 96.

pression "kingdom of God" is used by St. Mark and St. Luke, while St. Matthew renders the same by the synonym, "the kingdom of heaven." "Which is the primitive formula, the one actually used by Jesus?" we may again ask in the words of the above-mentioned professor. "According to Weiss and Holtzmann"—he tells us—"the Saviour used the expression 'kingdom of God,' and it was only, they maintain, after the destruction of Jerusalem, when the Christians had to abandon all hopes of a reign of God on earth that the variant kingdom of heaven was introduced, in order to emphasize the transcendency, the celestial remoteness of that kingdom."¹⁸ This theory has little to recommend it; we are rather inclined to agree with the author of the "Studies on the Gospels" when he says: "We think, with Dalman, that the formula 'kingdom of heaven' is primitive. The expression is Jewish; the idea which it evokes is the outcome of Jewish speculations; it was such as the Jewish hearers of Jesus were able to understand. It was St. Mark and St. Luke, rather, who would have substituted for the Hebraism 'kingdom of heaven' the equivalent 'kingdom of God,' as more intelligible to the Greek readers for whom they wrote. It is consequently more exact to suppose that the Saviour, speaking to His countrymen, would have habitually employed the formula 'kingdom of heaven.'"¹⁹ Moreover, it stands to reason to agree with the latter opinion, when "we find in the Mischna the word 'heaven' frequently used to designate God, whose name was unspeakable, and even the expression 'kingdom of heaven' for 'kingdom of God.' We do not mean to say that the Saviour had any of the scruples of the devout rabbi; but He would have respected the susceptibilities of His hearers and avoided the use of the name Yahweh. In any case, we may continue with the learned Tribourgian professor, "He commonly used the current expression, and in His mind the two formulæ mean one and the same thing."²⁰

If Christ really used the expression "kingdom of heaven," it is even more significant to consider to whom this His kingdom was opposed. Was the "kingdom of heaven" opposed to the kingdoms of the world or was it in opposition with that kingdom whose prince we call Satan? Discussing this question if the kingdom of Christ stood in direct opposition to the kingdoms of the world, we may ask in a form more appropriate to the time of which we write: Was the kingdom of Christ opposed to the great Roman Empire? Surely, the hopes and aspirations of the Jewish people at that time were rooted in the desire to destroy the empire of their oppressors and

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

to erect a new powerful kingdom of Israel. Was Christ going to satisfy the wishes of the Jewish mind? It was a decision of greatest importance. For should Jesus oppose the politico-religious aspirations of His contemporaries, His enemies could have pointed Him out as a friend or an agent of the Romans, and that would have doubtless endangered His mission. Should He have satisfied the long-standing illusions of the Jews, it would have been the cause of revolts and political outbreaks. On this point, Jesus corrects Jewish conceptions and excludes the idea of a worldly kingdom: "Render, therefore, to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God, the things that are God's." (Matt. xxii., 21.) Openly and frankly He denies a mission as worldly or human judge and he asks: "Man, who hath appointed Me Judge, or divider, over you?" (Luke xii., 14.) "The Son of man did not come to be ministered unto, but to minister." (Matt. xx., 28.) He fled away when the crowd wanted to make Him king. His kingdom is independent of worldly powers, it is of another order. He opposed it to the one of Satan: "Every kingdom divided against itself shall be made desolate. . . . And if Satan cast out Satan, he is divided against himself: how then shall his kingdom stand? And if by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judges. But if I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you." (Matt. xii., 25-28.) The opposition of Christ and His kingdom to Satan and his kingdom is so obviously and emphatically taught by the Holy Scriptures that the Protestant theologian Holtzmann says: "The sovereignty of God progresses in proportion as Satan retires; for each backward step of the enemy there is a corresponding step forward of the kingdom of God."²¹ Analogically the Berlin professor of church history, Adolf von Harnack, sees in the kingdom of Satan the opposition of the kingdom of God, for he writes in the beginning of his fourth lecture in his book: "What is Christianity": "The coming of the kingdom of God signifies that the kingdom of the devil is destroyed and the demons vanquished²² by Jesus' marvelous power over the souls of those who trusted Him."²³ Even "the Pharisees must have been aware that the first act of God's sovereignty would be to drive out the powers of evil, to deprive the devils of the authority they had obtained over men and the world. They must have concluded that God had already begun to reign and to manifest His sovereign

²¹ Op. cit., I, p. 218.

²² Harnack: "Christianity," p. 62.

²³ Ibid., p. 64.

power, since that power (of expelling Satan) was actually exercised in Jesus and by Jesus."²⁴

Although He did not oppose His kingdom to that of Cæsar's (but to that of Satan), Christ nevertheless regards the privilege of the Jews which they themselves were generally so proud, being the chosen people of God and the first ones to be called upon to enter the kingdom of Christ. He confines His personal mission to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. xv., 24) and preaches only to the people of Galilee and Jerusalem. He even goes as far as to forbid the Apostles to "go into the way of the Gentiles" and tells them expressly that their present mission is to go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. (Matt. x., 5.) Christ's mission to the people of Israel is so emphatically taught by the Evangelists that a scholar of the well-known name of Adolf van Harnack erroneously comes to the conclusion that "Jesus addressed His Gospel . . . to His fellow-countrymen. He preached only to Jews. Not a syllable shows that He detached His message from its national soil."²⁵ . . . Now the same professor goes even as far as to say with reference to Matt. x., 23: "If the saying is genuine, the Gentile mission cannot have lain within the horizon of Jesus."²⁶ This opinion of Professor Harnack is as erroneous as possible, for it is diametrically opposed to the true spirit of Holy Writ. The Old Testament is full of prophecies expounding the future universality of God's sovereignty on earth. The last of the prophets says: "For from the rising of the sun even to the going down, My name is great among the Gentiles, and in every place there is sacrifice, and there is offered to My name a clean oblation: for My name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord of hosts." (Malachias i., 11.) As to the ideas held by the authors of profane writings, it is true that they sometimes speak of the destruction of the Gentile nations, which event would take place after the coming of the Messianic King, as we saw in some quotations already given. This will be easy to understand if we consider the national hate in the Jewish heart against the Roman oppressors. Nevertheless, after the revengeful mind of the Jews was satisfied by the punishment of the heathens, which should precede the glory of the kingdom of Israel, we read that the Messiah will do away with all war and injustice and that a period of happiness and gladness in the Messianic kingdom will follow. Here we should do well to recall to our mind the picture which the Jew Philo gave of the imaginary future kingdom of Israel. It may be noteworthy to say "that the calling of the

²⁴ Rose: "Studies," etc., p. 106 f.

²⁵ Harnack: "The Mission and Expansion of Christianity," Vol. I., p. 36.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 38.

Gentiles to the kingdom of God is more developed and has greater prominence in Alexandrian writings than in those of the Jews in Palestine.²⁷ If, during the lifetime of Jesus, the Jews alone were evangelized, it was only a privilege granted to that people, which favor consisted only in this that the Gospel message was brought first to the sheep of Israel. It has been said by modern theologians of the Protestant Church that it was in later days "Paul who delivered the Christian religion from Judaism" and "who carried the Gospel to the nations of the world and transferred it from Judaism to the ground occupied by Greece and Rome."²⁸ Of Jesus Christ—the same school of Protestant scholars tells us—"that He Himself shared the national aspirations of the Jews," as "He was given up particularly to the reading of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament," . . . and thus, that "He never freed Himself from these heterogeneous influences, nor in any way surpassed His predecessors."²⁹ Such remarks can be made by men only who never read a single page of the Holy Scriptures or who completely deny the inspiration and truthfulness of the sacred text. For the passages speaking of the universality of the Christian Church are too many to be particularly enumerated. Does not Jesus expressly and distinctly say of His kingdom: "And I say to you that many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven?" (Matt. viii., 11. It is St. Matthew who speaks of the "kingdom of heaven!") And again: "Therefore I say to you that the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a nation yielding the fruits thereof." (Matt. xxi., 43.) We do not need to quote passages of the sacred text likewise pointing to the universal character of Christ's message without mentioning the word "kingdom," as for instance Christ's direct orders: "Going therefore, teach ye all nations." (Matt. xxviii., 19.) That universality of the kingdom of Christ is so emphatically taught by the Evangelists that—hard to believe as it is—the very same man, Professor Adolf v. Harnack, who denies that the Gentile mission would have been "within the horizon of Jesus," confesses of St. John's Gospel as follows: "And, as a whole, the Gospel is saturated with the statements of a directly universalistic character."³⁰

Although it would harmonize better with our preceding dissertation, according to which Jesus Himself was making use of the expression "kingdom of heaven," we wish to attach ourselves to

²⁷ Rose: "Studies," etc., p. 101.

²⁸ Harnack: "What Is Christianity?" p. 190.

²⁹ Vide Rose: "Studies," p. 90.

³⁰ "Missions," Vol. I., p. 42.

the term generally in use in our English language, and we will speak in the following chapter of the "kingdom of God." As we have already seen in the course of our discussion, there was given a different meaning to the word "kingdom of God." Christ revealing His divine doctrine not suddenly but slowly, gave to His kingdom a meaning which, gradually condensing itself and slowly growing as it did, developed from an ample one into a term which signified a complete visible society without arousing the susceptibility and political ambitions of the Jews. He started from the popular idea and was making use of an expression which was in every one's mouth, but he gradually transformed it or gave it a narrower meaning without weakening the logic and the sequence of His divine dispensation and yet checking the tendency towards a national or political interpretation.

(1) The kingdom of God is in its most ample meaning the fulfillment of the divine will in heaven and on earth. Where God's will is accomplished and done, there the kingdom of God is in existence. This kingdom, which is identical with the accomplished will of God, will finally be delivered up to God the Father by the second Divine Person of the Blessed Trinity at the end of the world, as we read in the fifteenth chapter of the letter to the Corinthians (v. 24). The kingdom, as it reflects itself in the fulfillment of the divine will in heaven and on earth and throughout all eternity is the aim of man destined by God. Unfortunately, however, as man was at his fall, he passed out of this kingdom of God by his first sin. To enable man to again enter this kingdom was the will of God, and to that purpose Christ's coming and message was devoted, that is to say to again put man into closer relation with his God and to make him again a member of His kingdom. Thus it is clear that the central idea of the first three Evangelists whose task it was to point to that is nothing else but the kingdom of God.

(2) This kingdom as it exists in heaven and had existed on earth before Adam's sin and was yet in existence among the holy souls of pious men should take shape in a visible form by the coming of the long-looked-for Messias. During several thousand years the prophets had foretold the coming of the Messias and that His sacred personality would exercise a powerful influence upon mankind, that man would be regenerated and that there would be established a new era. Immediately before the arrival of the Messias His great forerunner, St. John the Baptist, cried aloud and announced the coming in this way: "Do penance: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." (Matt. iii., 2.) And not a long time after this announcement "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the Gospel of the kingdom of

God and saying: "The time is accomplished and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent and believe the Gospel." (Mark i., 14, 15.) The Pharisees, being alarmed by the dispensation of Christ's message, did not stand aside, but wished to have a definite answer if the long-expected kingdom had already arrived or not. They asked that of Our Divine Master, whereupon they received a clear and distinct reply: "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation. Neither shall they say: Behold here. or behold there. For lo, the kingdom of God is within you." (St. Luke xvii., 20, 21.) Surely, it was amongst the Jews these words were spoken, for the Jews heard daily the words of the kingdom of heaven which Christ preached to them His numerous parables. They saw the effects of its coming in the countless wonders and miracles that were performed by the Divine Master: "Go and relate to John what you have heard and seen. The blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead rise again, the poor have the Gospel preached to them. And blessed is he that shall not be scandalized in Me." (Matt. xi., 4, 5, 6.)

However great those miracles performed by Christ may have been, they did not constitute the kingdom of God itself, for they were merely the visible effects of its coming. The miracles manifested in a visible form the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth, which was in its earliest days, on account of its very humble beginning, scarcely to be recognized by the eyes of this world. Christ Himself distinguished between the kingdom itself and the visible effects of the kingdom when He said: "But if I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you." (Matt. xii., 28.) And when sending out His Apostles He gave them a double order, namely: "To preach the kingdom of God and to heal the sick." (Luke ix., 2.) The doctrines which He proposed were "His Gospel," and those who would accept them would constitute "His kingdom," thus "preaching the Gospel of the kingdom of God." (Mark i., 14.) It was to be understood that this kingdom should not be limited in time and not be confined to the course of three years of Christ's mission on earth, for He foretold its extension throughout the universe and the centuries to the end of the world when saying: "And this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for a testimony to all nations, and then shall the consummation come." (Matt. xxiv., 14.)

(3) In opposition to the Pharisees, whose idea was a doctrine of ritual justification, Jesus, in preaching His Gospel, emphasized the doctrine of the inward innocence of the soul. "Repent and believe the Gospel." Or: "Seek ye, therefore, first the kingdom of God

and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you." (Matt. vi., 33.) Consequently the kingdom of God in us consists of a certain tone of mind which is directed towards God as its final aim and destination, provided that one possesses sanctifying grace. The kingdom of God, as manifested in the holy soul of the individual, is extended over earth wherever His divine will is done and accomplished. "Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." (The Lord's Prayer.) This tone of mind is analyzed in a masterly manner in the Lord's Sermon upon the Mount. Speaking of the eight beatitudes He says: "Blessed are the poor in spirit. . . . Blessed are the meek. . . . The reward for living a life of virtue and holiness are the eight beatitudes which are the possession of the kingdom of heaven . . . for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," as the first and the eighth tell us.

(4) We have now expounded the meaning of the term in question according to its full and deepest interpretation. Is there no other meaning attached to the kingdom of God? If we would lend a willing ear to the teachers of Protestant theology we would be obliged to finish our discussion. For Protestant scholars say that this kingdom belongs to a "spiritual order."³¹ "The kingdom of God," says the Protestant writer, Professor Carl von Weizsaecker, "involved righteousness, which consisted not in honoring God by definite actions, but in yielding one's-self, one's whole being, to Him."³² The same thought is expressed by the same author when he says with reference to the kingdom of God as a whole: "Hence the only constitution contemplated is a personal one, whose fundamental features are devotion and receptiveness."³³ To the Hebrew mind, however, to whom Christ taught His Gospel, such a category of a kingdom belonging to "a spiritual order" would have been entirely incomprehensible. The Jewish mind would have been capable of conceiving of a philosophy finding its highest aim and perfection in the meditation of the divinity and the direction or inclination of the human mental faculty exclusively towards its God; but it would have been unable, just as our common sense is unable, to conceive of a religion, spiritual in its order and manifesting itself only inwardly in the individual, but rejecting everything that finds its visible expression in a definite act. Such a religion, as imagined by Protestant scholars, was not less incomprehensible to the Jewish mind, as it is inconceivable to the common sense of man. Whatever Protestant teachers may say and write about the "purely ideal and

³¹ Weizsaecker: "Apostolic Age," Vol. I., p. 126.

³² Ibid., vol. II., p. 343.

³³ Ibid., vol. II., p. 344.

entirely spiritual character of the Christian (that is Protestant) religion!" they have to accept the truth that "no religious movement can remain in a bodiless condition."³⁴ Was Christ really so "careless of all externals"³⁵ that "the question how and in what forms the seed would grow was not one which occupied His mind?"³⁶ Really, was it delivered to the course of events and times to work out at a later age that great institution which we call "church"? "Was it first of all at Rome that the Christians felt themselves to be a Church and the beginning of the kingdom of God?"³⁷ How is it possible that the very same pen which did not shrink to write the above-quoted blasphemies, "Christ was careless . . . and . . . did not occupy His mind," put to paper the following words: "The words of Christ: 'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them is a summons to form such societies? Hence the bringing together in this world of those who call upon the name of Christ is not something secondary or unessential in relation to the conception of the Church, but the conception of the Church itself demands it, and is not realized until such an aggregation is formed. The Church, therefore, regarded as a spiritual and religious entity, is no mere idea of faith or something whose very existence depends upon faith, i. e., the faith of the individual. Moreover, it is by no means sufficiently described when it is called the invisible body of Christ, for it is obviously an essential part of its nature that it should form societies on earth."³⁸ If Christ invited the Christians to form a concrete association, it is hard to comprehend why He Himself did not institute such a visible society, as He claimed to be a "king" and "ruler."

An attempt is made by recent critics to solve this difficulty by saying that "the idea of the kingdom as supplied by the Gospel is distinct from the idea of the Church."³⁹ If that were right, it would be impossible to give a meaning to St. John iii., 5, when saying: "Jesus answered: Amen, amen, I say to thee, unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Here, obviously, Christ refers to the baptism as a pre-condition to enter His visible kingdom, that is to say, to join the Church. Likewise we may refer to St. Luke vii., 28: "For

³⁴ Harnack: "What Is Christianity?" p. 195.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 195.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

³⁷ Wernle: "Beginnings of Christianity," Vol. II., p. 86.

³⁸ Harnack: "The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries," p. 212. Criticism of Sohm's theory.

³⁹ For further details on this subject refer to Batiffol: "Primitive Catholicism," p. 76 f.

I say to you: Amongst those that are born of women, there is not a greater prophet than John the Baptist. But he that is the lesser in the kingdom of God is greater than he." Professor V. Rose rightly remarks: "The declaration of Jesus Christ concerning John the Baptist is meaningless unless it refers to a kingdom of God already founded. 'The least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he.' That is to say, the least of those who are citizens of the kingdom, because they are My disciples, are greater than the herald of the kingdom. John is not to be excluded from the kingdom of God in its final phase; therefore, these words cannot but refer to the initial phase of that kingdom established by Jesus Christ Himself."⁴⁰ In the same manner Matthew xxi., 43, proves our assertion of the identity of the Church with the kingdom of God. Here the writer may be allowed to quote for the sake of curiosity how a professor of the University of Basel, Switzerland, Paul Wernle, has interpreted the above-mentioned passage of St. Matthew: "The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof, (xxi., 43). What is the kingdom of God which the Jews have possessed? It is not, as in other passages, the future Messianic kingdom, but the theocracy, the divine rule. The evangelist might just as well have said: 'Ye shall no longer be the Church.'"⁴¹

Belief and love of God and of the neighbor are the greatest and the first two commandments on which the whole law depends. (Matt. xxii., 36-40.) Those who fulfill them belong to the kingdom of God, as it is the accomplished will of God on earth. Yet there is the following question to answer: "These members of the kingdom of God, shall they live isolated one from another and joined to God alone, or shall they form a society?"⁴² As, then, there is a society to aid man in attaining the goods of his natural life, so much more is there a society to aid man in attaining that supernatural good to which the natural goods are subordinate."⁴³ It was already during our dear Master's mission on earth that those who were taught by Him the divine doctrine of the kingdom of God and gradually knew its contents, formed round Jesus a group, although a very small one in the beginning. But this group seemed to be the beginning of the Church, as its members were "visible" followers of Christ and His doctrine. For although speaking before an audience of Jews of Judea, Galilee and Jerusalem and of people of Tyre, Sidon and Decapolis, Jesus deliver-

⁴⁰ "Studies," pp. 110-111.

⁴¹ "Beginnings of Christianity," Vol. III., p. 85.

⁴² Tixeront: "History of Dogmas," vol. I., p. 67.

⁴³ Allies: "The Formation of Christendom," vol. IV., p. 110.

ing His Sermon on the Mount ostensibly addressed only the handful of His disciples and told them that they were the salt of the earth, that they were the light of the world, etc.⁴⁴ Surely, "if His Gospel had been a bodiless spirit,"⁴⁵ the eternal wisdom of Our Lord Jesus would not have confined His address to a certain group of men. Is it surprising that after having ostensibly distinguished His direct followers from the crowd and having separately addressed them, Jesus, gradually advancing, prepares the mind of His followers as well as of the people until everything is ready to accept the institution of the new visible and yet divine society, His Church? In this way the Jewish mind was not shocked nor seriously confused. Moreover, during His lifetime Jesus instituted seven sacraments which are to be given to His flock by means of visible signs. Thus Christ not only announced His teaching as a pure philosophy or as a "kingdom of inner righteousness,"⁴⁶ or as one of "purely higher morality,"⁴⁷ or as "a mere spiritual movement,"⁴⁸ or as a "mere brotherhood of love and of mutual aid"⁴⁹—as Protestant teachers may conceive—but founded a real and true religion, which presumes veracity of doctrine and correctness of moral-teaching, together with a true and holy worshiping of the Divinity. Worshiping, however, cannot be accomplished unless there is a body discharging its function, and that body is the priesthood, which takes up the mediatorship between God and men. So we see that, having promised the great Eucharistic Sacrifice after there had taken place that miraculous event of the loaves and the fishes, Jesus consequently—as He wished the Eucharistic Sacrifice to be continued until the consummation of the world—next in turn established that primacy of St. Peter, which made him the rock of the Church of Jesus Christ.

How well everything was prepared by Divine Providence in that great drama of Jesus' life we see on the first Pentecost day of the Church. All the essential parts of the constitution of the Church are at hand: The head, St. Peter; the officers, the Apostles; the members, the faithful who remained with the Apostles in Jerusalem, together with St. Mary; the three thousand persons who received baptism; the condition of membership, the baptism; the aim of the society, sanctification of the soul, Jesus Christ, etc. In the Acts and the writings of the earliest Christian era we see

⁴⁴ Vide "Rose Studies," p. 121.

⁴⁵ Refer to Batiffol. "Primitive Catholicism," p. 77.

⁴⁶ Schaff-Herzog: "Religious Encyclopædia," vol. II., p. 1246.

⁴⁷ Weizsacker: "Apostolic Age," vol. II., p. 344 f.

⁴⁸ Vide Batiffol: "Primitive Catholicism," p. 28.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 28-37.

that the *doctrine* of the Christians was the object of persecutions and contradictions, but never was, even among the heretics, the doctrine praised and the visible society, which held this very doctrine, condemned. On the contrary, the early heretics were painfully anxious to avoid an open break with the Church. The course of sixteen centuries and the perversity of more than one thousand and one-half of years was needed to produce that monster of a sophism which claims to have the right doctrine, but refuses to be a real and true visible society, a visible Church—[Protestantism].

There is hardly any need to attempt to prove that the Church is the kingdom of God. If the Christian religion is the kingdom of God, as proved above, the Church also is identical with the visible form of the kingdom of God on earth, as the Christian religion cannot exist in its truthfulness and completeness outside the Church. "But when they had believed Philip preaching of the kingdom of God, in the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women" (Acts viii., 12), which means that they joined that kingdom—the Church.

Modern critics will not agree with our dissertation. They will refute our conception of the kingdom of God, pretending that Jesus founded a society of disciples as He was impressed by the "tragic illusion" of the expectation of the "imminent and catastrophic advent of the kingdom."⁵⁰ In this way, Loisy says, "Jesus provided for the diffusion of the Gospel for the time then present."⁵¹ But "instead of the expected kingdom, the Church came" and "the idea of the Church was substituted by the force of events for the idea of the kingdom."⁵² With this pretended eschatological expectation of Jesus, according to Loisy, many of the Protestant teachers agree, although they arrive at the opposite conclusion concerning Christ's attitude towards the Church. "Jesus, we are told," says Batiffol (Catholic), who outlines some Protestant errors, "preached the near coming of the kingdom of God; His conception of it was purely apocalyptic; how then could He have come to conceive of a religious society constituted so as to abide?"⁵³ Contradictory as these two theories of Protestantism are, they will not be able to set aside our thesis concerning the relation between "kingdom" and "church."

(5) Nevertheless this discussion has brought us one step further. Had Jesus no eschatologic expectations and did He not, when speaking of the kingdom, understand the eschatological kingdom?

⁵⁰ For further details on this subject see Batiffol: "Primitive Catholicism," p. 79.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

This opinion seems to be favored by the passage of St. Matthew xvi., 28: "Amen I say to you, there are some of them that stand here, that shall not taste death, till they see the Son of Man coming in His kingdom." The course of the events soon proved that Jesus applied these words to His approaching glorification after His resurrection and to the beginning of the spread of His Church on earth. If we made efforts to find in that passage a proof of the eschatological expectations of Jesus, we would expose ourselves to public ridicule, as Wernle does when he writes: "Their (the Christians) citizenship was in heaven. Here upon earth they lived as strangers and sojourners, as pilgrims to their heavenly home. But what a mighty power there lay in this future hope. It achieved two memorable results; it overcame the deceptive expectation as to the coming of Jesus and the kingdom of God.⁵⁴" On another page of his book the same writer asks with reference to Matthew xvi., 28: "Had the promises, however, which Jesus had made in the first instance, and St. Paul had confirmed, been fulfilled?" And he comes to the conclusion: "Not one of these promises was fulfilled."⁵⁵

This difficulty may be easily solved by showing that our dear Lord spoke of the kingdom both as initial and as future. The initial one was His Church, which was in its earliest development. The future or eschatological one was the future kingdom in heaven. As we have shown in the beginning of our dissertation, many Jews connected with the advent of the kingdom the coming of the last judgment, and consequently interpreted when Jesus was speaking of the future kingdom in heaven, the words of Christ as referring to the last general judgment immediately to be expected. Jesus, however, speaking of an indefinite future, left it to the experience of His followers to find out its right interpretation concerning the date of its arrival.

Jesus refers more than plainly to the future kingdom in heaven when He says: "Fear not, little flock, for it hath pleased your Father to give you a kingdom." (Luke xii., 32.) Men from all over the world will be called to it: "And they shall come from the east and the west and the north and the south; and shall sit down in the kingdom of God." (Luke xiii., 29.) The condition for admittance is humility: "Amen I say to you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child shall not enter into it." (Mark x., 15.) It will be a reward for the good we have

⁵³ Ibid. 75.

⁵⁴ Wernle: "Beginnings of Christianity," vol. II., p. 312.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 298-299.

done: "Confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith and that through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God." (Acts xiv., 21.) The greatest happiness possible will be there enjoyed: "And I dispose to you, as My Father hath disposed to Me, a kingdom. That you may eat and drink at My table, in My kingdom: and may sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." (Luke xxii., 29, 30.)

One question is yet open: Is not the distinction which Jesus makes between His kingdom on earth (the Church) and His kingdom in future (in heaven) difficult to solve? Does He not use one and the same term for two entirely different matters? Why did Jesus not select another term for the one thing to be easier distinguished from the other? There was no need to look for distinctions of terms, as both the objects differ only in time. The kingdom of God as we see it now in its visible form in the Church will be in future—after the last day—the kingdom of God in heaven, being nothing else than the glorious Church of God in her final triumph. "Then shall the King say to them that shall be on His right hand: Come, ye blessed of My Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." (Matt. xxv., 34.)

ADOLF FRENAY.

El Paso, Texas.

THE CAPUCHIN MISSION IN BULGARIA AND REUNION WITH ROME.

BULGARIA,¹ a kingdom as far back in history as 679, was Christianized by St. Cyril and St. Methodius, or at least the work of evangelization was begun by them, for it took a long time to bring the people—a stubborn race of Hunnic and Finnic origin, who migrated or were driven from the Volga to the lower Danube about the middle of the seventh century—under the yoke of the Gospel. Their ruler, King Theleric, who embraced the faith, and as a consequence was abandoned by his people, had to fly to Constantinople. The first of the nation to receive baptism was Prince Bogoris or Boris, who took the name of Michael. His conversion was brought about by his sister, a prisoner in Constantinople, through the agency of St. Methodius, and the sacrament was administered in 864 by a Bishop chosen by the Empress Theodora. This convert prince sent his son to Rome and another envoy to Louis, King of Germany, for a Bishop and some priests. In response to his request, Louis sent Hermanricus with a few priests and deacons, but he was forestalled by Pope Nicholas I., in whose name Bishop Paul of Populonia and Bishop Formosus of Porto were bearers of a letter from the Pope containing an epitome of Catholic doctrine suited to the comprehension of that people and calculated to soften or subdue their ferocious habits. At first they were opposed to its reception, but afterwards yielded to the King's wishes, as St. Cyril and St. Methodius had predicted, and the Pontiff sent further missionaries, including two Bishops.

At this time, 869, was held the eighth Œcumenical Council at

¹ The country now known as Bulgaria was originally peopled by Thracians, and under the Roman Empire formed the province of Mœsia. It was overrun by Goths, Huns and Slav Slovenians. The Bulgars, a Turanian race, a wild, fierce and barbarous horde, governed by their Khans or Boyars, made their appearance on the banks of the Pruth in the latter part of the seventh century. They primitively occupied a territory between the Ural Mountains and the Volga, where the kingdom of Bolgary existed down to the thirteenth century. In 679, under their Khan Asparukh, they crossed the Danube, and, after subjugating the Slav portion of Mœsia, advanced to the gates of Constantinople and Salonica and forced the Byzantine Emperor to cede to them the province of Mœsia. Like the Franks when they crossed the Rhine into Gaul, they gave their name to the more civilized Slavs with whom they amalgamated, forming an independent kingdom. Its whole subsequent history has been a series of conflicts with the Byzantine Empire, the short-lived Latin Empire of Constantinople, and the Ottoman Empire. They reached their zenith under Simeon, or Symeon, their greatest ruler, who proudly called himself "Emperor and Autocrat of all the Bulgars and Greeks," a title recognized by Pope Formosus. The first Empire lasted for three centuries. It is the ambition of modern Bulgaria to restore it.

Constantinople, to which Michael Bogoris sent representatives, and which condemned Photius. After the death of St. Ignatius and the reinstatement of Photius—the most momentous mistake ever made by Rome—the Bulgarians were drawn into the schism to which the Manicheans attached themselves. This heresy, passing into the West, embraced the Kathari, the Patarini, the Henricians, the Petrobrusiani, the Albigenses and Waldenses, all of whom were united under the name of Bulgarians.² The religious and social development of the nation, strong and happy under its rulers, who had raised themselves to the rank of czars or emperors and received investiture from Rome, was arrested by this schism. The Bulgarians, whose simplicity had been imposed upon by Greek astuteness, having exchanged the paternal government of Rome for the proud and simoniacal Byzantine dominion, lost, along with the integrity of the faith, religious and political independence. Their Patriarchate, instituted by the successor of St. Peter, was confiscated by the Photian Patriarch, who established in the whole Bulgarian Church a servile system skillfully conceived and perseveringly continued for more than nine centuries. Little by little the episcopate and other ecclesiastical dignities were withdrawn from the Bulgarian clergy; national and historical documents were destroyed in order that they might lose all remembrance of their past, and the Byzantine rite substituted for the Cyrillic. The people had pastors put over them whose language they did not understand and who consequently could not teach them, supposing they had the ability and the zeal.

The King of Bulgaria, Joan Asên (1196-1207), to protect himself against the last assaults of the Greek Empire, sent legates to Pope Innocent III. with a view of forming an alliance with the Holy See, begging the Pope to accord him the crown and honors which his predecessors, the ancient sovereigns, had possessed. His Holiness, having satisfied himself as to his sincerity, in 1204 sent a Cardinal, who solemnly invested him with sceptre and crown and a banner of St. Peter. The Bulgarian sovereign, who had inherited devotion to the Holy See from his Roman ancestry, sent a sealed document in which he expressed his resolution of following in the footsteps of his sires, placed his kingdom in communion with the Roman Church and promised that he and his successors would always be devoted sons of the Apostolic See.

It was the very year when the victorious Crusaders entered Constantinople. The fourth Crusade, instead of marching to the deliverance of the Holy Land, turned aside from its original design

² See Abbé Migne's "*Dictionnaire des Hérésies.*"

to accomplish the conquest of the decrepit Empire of the East, only to be conquered in its turn. The King of Bulgaria, always unfaithful to his word, waged war upon the Latins, who had demanded restitution of territory alleged to have been usurped by Bulgaria, sacking and destroying cities and towns, including the ancient city of Philippopolis, built by the father of the great Alexander, long a flourishing city, and after Constantinople and Salonica—the Thessalonica so dear to St. Paul—held the third place in the empire. He defeated Baldwin near Adrianople, took him in chains to Ternoza, where after a year's imprisonment he had his hands, arms and limbs cut off, and the trunk was thrown into a ditch, in which after three days the unfortunate Emperor, still breathing, was found and outraged by some vagabonds. The Bulgarian King afterwards met his death in 1207 in Thessaly, when, it appears, the Catholic movement in Bulgaria ended for the time being.

After the fall of the Latin empire and the kingdom of Bulgaria, which took place later, the Greeks again got possession of the Bulgarian Church, whose head had the title of Catholicos. The Holy See, on its part, did not cease to concern itself about it, and Urban V., Nicholas V. and other Pontiffs bestowed special care upon it. Propaganda established missions there, one at Sofia, the ancient Sardica, already an illustrious Christian city, in which a council was held in 344 or 347, and Philippopolis. The former was an episcopal see up to the fourth century; one of its Bishops was at the Council of Nicea, and another, Justinian I., built and rebuilt at Constantinople the famous Church of Sancta Sophia. This city at one time had 100,000 inhabitants. When the Turks transformed the churches into mosques and public granaries, the Catholic inhabitants wandered here and there; by the first half of the eighteenth century they were reduced to a few; in the beginning of the last century hardly any mention is made of them. There are now in Sofia three thousand Catholics.

Some of the other Catholics in Bulgaria, which had become a Turkish province, found their way to Philippopolis, the ancient Maritza, built, it is said, by Philip of Macedon, and which as the capital of Thrace was a metropolitan see in the fifth century, and had had as its first Bishop that Hermas mentioned by St. Paul.³

³ Hermas, mentioned in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, was, according to several ancient writers and learned interpreters, the same as the celebrated Hermas, whose works are extant, and which by some have been ranked among canonical scriptures. The books of Hermas entitled "The Pastor" were written in Rome or its neighborhood towards the year 92 A. D., before Domitian's persecution. Adon, Usuard and the Roman Mar-

It was there Michael joined Conrad III., who went forth with the Second Crusade in 1141 with seventy thousand mail-clad warriors. It was completely destroyed by the earthquake of 1818.

The missionaries sent there in the early part of the eighteenth century went at the risk of their lives. Two of them, Nicholas Boscovich and Michael Dobromiri, the former vicar general of Marco Andriasci, Archbishop of Sofia and Administrator of Philippopolis, and the latter, who filled his place during the prelate's long exile, were brought, chained, to Adrianople in 1738, and there beheaded. The situation in Bulgaria was always strained and pitiable; no churches, no liberty. Nevertheless, the missionaries' zeal was invincible, their patience unalterable. They kept the faithful from the schism. But that was not enough, because continuity was precarious and liable to interruptions. Propaganda, to put things on a more stable footing, assigned the mission to the Augustinians in 1833, then to Redemptorists from Vienna, nominating the superior, John Ptacek, Vicar Apostolic, in 1835, and finally entrusted it to the Capuchins, with Father Andrew, of Garessio, as Prefect Apostolic.

There are now about three million schismatics in Bulgaria, but there are thousands who have remained faithful adherents of the true Vicar of Christ. These originally belonged to the heretical sect of the Paulicians, but three centuries ago were converted to the Catholic faith, thanks to the indefatigable zeal of the Franciscan Fathers, who have ruled them first as Vicars and then as Archbishops of Sofia and Administrators of Philippopolis. They follow the Latin rite. The first Franciscan consecrated Bishop of Sofia was Pietro Salinati, to whom is due the foundation of various convents of Bulgarian Franciscan religious and the conversion of many Mussulmans and schismatics. Consecrated in 1610, he left the vicariate in 1625 to Father Elias Marinic, who remained up to 1641, when he was replaced by Bishop Doetato Backsch, who was the real apostle of the Paulicians, as the "*Acta Bulgariæ Ecclesiastica*," printed in Zagabria, calls him. Under Marco Andriasci (1725) persecutions by the Mohammedans and Greeks increasing caused them to desert the Apostolic See. For more than a century the mission was without Bishops. The work of the Redemptorists, sent before the persecutions had completely ceased to restore order,

tyrology fix the feast of Hermas for the 9th of May and the Greeks on the 8th of March and again on the 5th of October. They rank him among the Apostles and the seventy-two disciples. They add that he was made Bishop of Philippi, in Macedonia, or of Philippopolis, in Thrace (Abbé Migne, "*Dictionnaire Historique de la Bible*," Vol. II.). Migne gives in footnotes a number of authorities in support of above statements. The Roman Martyrology gives: "Hermas, discipulus Beati Pauli," etc.

rekindle faith and comfort the good Christians who, notwithstanding the insidious sectaries, had remained faithful to the Catholic Church, was productive of great fruit. They built a church and convent in Philippopolis. But while the Redemptorists were sowing the good seed, the schismatics, those implacable enemies of religion, by their machinations got Propaganda to recall them. It was reserved to the Capuchin Order, five years later, to begin a new era in the vicariate by overcoming difficulties of all kinds.

The first expedition of the Capuchins, led by Father Andrew, of Garessio—one of the Canova family, born on May 15, 1806—reached Philippopolis on March 21, 1841. Nominated Prefect Apostolic, he was accompanied by Father Venance, of Rosara; Father Onuphrius, of Torrette, and Father Theodore, of Caraglio; the two last Piedmontese like himself. It was a twelve days' journey. He found things in a sad state. He found the churches were only small holes built of branches and clay, covered for the most part with straw, with bare floors, and so low that a man could hardly stand upright. In place of altars some had tables disjointed and corroded by time. "I do not exaggerate in the least," he says, "in affirming that there are not in the whole world more wretched or viler churches than these; narrow and dark, with bare, squalid walls, with low, perforated roof, it seems rather a place designed to receive animals than to praise the Lord of heaven and earth." The convents, so called, were in the same condition; neither doors nor windows, but wretched narrow holes open to all weathers. In addition, the Catholics were split into parties, and held of no account by Turks and schismatics. To improve the situation and to provide in the best way possible for the spiritual needs of his people, the Prefect reserved to himself the city of Philippopolis, sending Father Onuphrius to Daugior and then to Kalasclia, where he remained three years, and Father Venance to Selgikov, who after a sojourn of eleven years there went to Kalasclia and Gherene, reaping fruits of zeal and constancy. These first missionaries were afterwards joined by other members of the order, whose coming raised the wrath of the schismatics.

As he had not had recourse to the Turkish Governor and obtained his license to establish them in the posts assigned to them, he was ordered to keep two of the religious near him pending further arrangements, but as the Prefect could not obey His Excellency's commands, and the Capuchins claimed to be independent of his authority, the latter, assuming they could not subsist without begging from the Christians, strictly forbade the latter to give anything to the friars so as to starve them out and compel them to

leave. Unable to vent his rage against them, he threatened the Catholics with imprisonment, exile and torture, until a few days afterwards, when they became more straitened, when the horizon became darker and the storm was already imminent, they had recourse to the usual expedient and sent him a large sum of money. He then left the Christians in peace, but would not allow the two missionaries to go. It was only through the intermediary of the French Ambassador at Constantinople that they secured freedom of action.

The overcoming of these first obstacles greatly enraged the schismatical Bishop, who put it into the Pasha's mind that the foreign missionaries were spreading European maxims among the people which would end in undermining the throne of the Osmons and compromise the public peace. The Pasha at once ordered the recall of the Capuchins from the villages to which they were sent and threatened the Prefect with immediate expulsion. In these straits the missionaries had again recourse to the customary expedient; they bought the protection of an influential Mussulman; the throne was saved and tranquillity was undisturbed. The friars remained where they were and continued to exercise their ministry in peace.

The Prefect tells how consoled he was by the fervor of the Catholics who filled the church every time he preached; their attendance at daily Mass; their recital of the rosary either in the church or in their homes; their great devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and their frequentation of the sacraments. Owing to help received from Europe, every parish had its pastor. But some who early in life had to take service under the Turks little by little lapsed into ignorance of their religion and were incapable of teaching their children the principal mysteries of the faith, as Father Francis Dominic, of Villafranca, found when he scoured the villages round about Philippopolis. They had, besides, before them the bad example of the schismatics and infidels. The surroundings were more favorable to religion in the country than in the city, where open air Corpus Christi processions even impressed and edified schismatics and Turks.

Although the Sultan Mahmud allowed the free exercise of any religion, Turkish fanaticism was not spent, on which account it was not safe to go into the open country unless accompanied by a man well armed, nor even then, for Father Edward, of Turin, in going to his station, was attacked by a Turkish robber who by repeated sabre thrusts strove to take his life, and of whose fury he would have been a victim had not Providence inspired his guide

with such courage that he succeeded in extricating him, not without a great struggle, from the hands of his would-be assassin.

In 1843 Father Andrew, of Garessio, was raised to the position of Vicar Apostolic and brought with him three of his brethren, Father Eletto, of Carmagnola; Father Maurizio, of Castellazzo, and Father Serafino, of Casteltermini, the last of whom ended his days in Philippopolis and was the first victim of the order in that land. He was able to report that religion in that province, twelve days' journey from the capital of the Ottoman Empire, was beginning to enjoy greater liberty. They did not live in such constant fear as before; punishments were less frequent and not so barbarous; every Christian could, without having to pay a fine, settle down in his place and repair his dwelling, a freedom of which the Vicar took advantage to build three houses for the missionaries where hitherto they were obliged to lodge with the faithful at great mutual inconvenience. This liberty, however, did not extend externally to the churches of which they could not remove a tile without the permission of the local authority, nor effect any necessary restorations without disbursing money. Schools were opened in every parish, several abuses traceable to the schism extirpated and religious confraternities established. Despite multiplied obstacles, which it took years to overcome, he built five churches where a few years before the Catholics had none, nor a sufficient number of priests. In every village there was a resident priest, one of whose preoccupations was to take steps to erect a new church, while the schismatics had only one priest for four or five of their districts, and all their adherents, great and little, were immersed in the most stupid ignorance.

All, however, was not sunshine. "True," he observes, "this mission, as I have already noted in another of my reports, is not fertile in conversions either of Turks or schismatics. Besides the dense veil of ignorance, which does not let them discern the light of truth, they are prevented from embracing the Catholic religion by their co-religionists, who would persecute, despoil and perhaps kill them. Nevertheless, it is a compensating consolation to see these Christians, surrounded by Mussulmans and schismatics, most attached to their religion, to the observance of the divine law and fervent in the service of God, equal to people whose happy lot it is to be exclusively Catholic. I am also consoled by the progress that from day to day the Ottoman Government is making in the way of civilization and religious tolerance. The mind is struck with horror at the oppression and slavery under which, scarcely twenty-five years ago, the people of this province groaned. The

wealthiest, not only in villages, but also in cities, were constrained to live in poorhouses and to wear wretched garments if they wished to enjoy their fortune in peace, and the poorest were completely dependent on the Turks, who treated them as they liked, employing them to labor in their fields without any payment, to cultivate rice and prepare and bring to their houses as much as they wanted. No one, passing through a city, was allowed to ride; if a Turk met a Christian in the country, the latter had to get down from his horse and to remain motionless until the former had passed. The master of a house could not replace a tile that fell off. Whoever dressed like a foreigner was an object of scorn and offense, and no foreigner ventured to pass through these countries if he had not a good escort. To-day all is changed. The Christian is no longer obliged to get off his horse when he meets a Bashaw. Besides, the poor are not so ill treated, although there is much still to be desired. Toleration being accorded to all creeds, Catholics, although separated from their brethren by many days' journey, have full freedom to fulfill their religious duties. Missioners are no longer obliged to disguise themselves and to celebrate the divine mysteries in this house or that in the darkness of night for fear of being discovered by Turks or schismatics; they now freely wear the ecclesiastical habit, are respected by all, tranquilly exercise their holy functions, and, what is more notable, the authorities, at their simple request, give them guards to maintain good order during the most frequented functions of Christmas, Easter and Corpus Christi, to which through curiosity the heretics also come. So they preach in the open church, as in the heart of Christendom, have solemn processions, give honorable burial to the dead and open schools to teach the young. Every one is aroused from the lethargy in which they lived, and every one likes to be instructed. At the close the missioners translate into the Bulgarian language some books circulated from hand to hand, and although Father Francis, of Villafranca, has already formed a little library, still the devotion of the faithful is not satisfied and calls for the translation of other books."

Christianity was at length beginning to rise in public estimation; Catholics, no longer formed of the old parties, saw their name, formerly despised, regarded with increasing honor by the very Mussulman authorities. The general state of things being improved, the Holy See wished to give a new prop to that people and add a new lustre to the mission by investing its superior with the episcopal dignity. On the 14th of December, 1847, Father Andrew, the Vicar Apostolic, was nominated titular Bishop of Croia. He hesitated for

some months accepting it, but he was finally persuaded and obeyed the will of his superiors. On March 26, 1848, he was consecrated at Constantinople by Monsignor Hillereau, assisted by Monsignor Hapun and Monsignor Artin, the one Primate and the other Bishop of the Armenians. On his return the people met him two leagues from the city and escorted him to the church, where they all kissed his ring. Catholicism had made such progress that where the missionary at first was not allowed to approach the Governor, that functionary now seated the Bishop alongside him, and, as a sign of equality, tendered the coffee and the pipe, "the calamut of peace and cup of joy."

The large chapel built by the Redemptorists (1836-39), being no longer suited to the number of Catholics and to the new importance acquired by the mission, Monsignor Canova erected a cathedral dedicated to St. Louis of France. Such a change had been operated that he was allowed to build two other churches, without firmans (official authorizations), bribes, expedients or disturbance, their opening taking place with the concurrence of schismatics and Turks.

The Catholics at Gherene being slaves of the Turks, the Capuchins bought a part of that village, leaving the rest to the Turks and schismatic Bulgars, and founded there a new colony composed of twenty families. They first celebrated divine worship in one of the usual wretched little holes, and then erected a suitable church, which was finished in 1857. A similar colony was established at Komakis, in the vicinity of Philippopolis, and a church dedicated to St. Roch built there in 1861. Shortly after that of Baltagia was reconstructed on new foundations, and in 1863 remodeled, as well as the church of Selgikov. All the convents were improved and further provision made for the education of girls and boys, the former being given in charge to the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition and the latter to the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

For the better protection of the mission Monsignor Canova got the Governments of Austria and France to appoint two Vice Consuls in Bulgaria (1856-57). Napoleon III., then at the height of his power, made the Vicar Apostolic a Knight of the Legion of Honor, a distinction which helped to raise the status of the Catholic body in the mixed community of Bulgaria.

If the number of converts was not greater and did not correspond to the great labors of the missionaries, it was because the Turks had forbidden conversions from Mohammedanism and the schismatics opposed them by every artifice. It is marvelous that the Catholics, already trebled, in presence of a thousand dangers

and the impossibility of retroceding, in a worldly sense, in case of apostasy should have adhered to the old faith. Among the schismatics vague traditions reminded them of Rome, but the astuteness of the Greeks and the intrusion of Russia closed every avenue and stifled every idea of returning to the bosom of the Church. However, after the Crimean war, when the Greek Patriarch refused to concede ecclesiastical autonomy to Bulgaria, a Romeward movement manifested itself. On November 5, 1859, Monsignor Brunoni wrote from Constantinople: "There embarked at Salonica, the very time the ship weighed anchor, a deputation of Bulgarians from a far distance to disclose to me their intention of returning to the bosom of the Church. It being impossible for them to have a conversation with me, they placed in the hands of the very worthy Monsignor Turroques, superior of the Lazarist mission, a long declaration of their pious design. I received this document at the Dardanelles, and do not think it inopportune to say something about it here. Primarily it is a sad narrative of the oppressions and cruelties to which the Bulgarian nation has been subjected by the schismatic Patriarch of Constantinople. 'For twelve years,' they say, 'our Archbishop conducted himself towards us not as a pastor, but as a rapacious wolf who devours the flock of Christ.' Weary of such oppression and scandal, this 'wretched people deliberated about throwing off the Greek yoke and returning to the bosom of Catholicism to which their ancestors very long ago belonged.' It declares that they recognize in the person of the Roman Pontiff the successor of the Apostle Peter, Bishop of Bishops. It manifests the desire of being admitted to the communion of the Latin Church; preserving, moreover, its own particular rite, its own language, its usages and a native clergy among whom could be selected its Bishop, presented for the approval of the Holy See."

This first step was followed by others. After a year's negotiations and conferences a deputation came to present this address with more than two thousand signatures: "The Christian world remembers that the Bulgarian nation began by receiving from the holy apostles, Cyril and Methodius, a distinct national canonical hierarchy, united by ties of faithful obedience to the Holy Universal Church of Rome. Inauspicious circumstances have hindered the Greek Patriarchs of Constantinople from detaching the Bulgarian nation from this canonical institution by criminal means and depriving it of its rights, of subjecting it to its authority. The Bulgarian nation has several times protested, but in vain. The present generation, confessing the same faith always united with

its prescriptive rights, encouraged, on the other hand, by the Hattihoumayoum, which secures to every subject of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan respect for personal religious convictions, protests anew against the violence it has endured for centuries, a violence which endangers, too, its interests, prevents every intellectual and free development, without defense against the persecutions and abuses of a foreign anti-Christian upper clergy. To judge who are the Bishops placed over us, it is enough to mention that several are at this moment arraigned before the courts for crimes such as violations and infanticides. Earnestly desiring to preserve this faith as it received it from the Apostles, the Bulgarian nation has resolved to break the bonds that unite it to the anti-Christian Patriarchate of Constantinople,⁴ and intends to reconstitute the Holy Bulgarian Church of Constantinople, its true spiritual mother, under the authority and protection of the Holy Roman Church. To that end we the undersigned, charged by the Bulgarian nation to reunite its ties with the Holy Church of Rome through the intermediary of the holy and venerable successor of St. Peter, supreme head of the Christian Church, solemnly declare that we recognize as holy the dogmas of the Church of Rome and promise full and sincere fidelity to His Holiness Pius IX., to his successors and to his apostolic delegates. The Bulgarian nation, relying upon the decrees of the Holy Church of Rome for the conservation of the rites of the Oriental Churches, and persuaded that its rites and liturgy will remain intact, as established at the Council of Florence in what concerns the rites of the Oriental Churches; wherefore we, the undersigned, humbly pray His Holiness Pius IX. that in receiving into the bosom of the Universal and Catholic Church our Bulgarian Church to deign to recognize our distinct and national hierarchy as canonical. Finally, we humbly beg His Holiness to deign to invite His Majesty the Emperor of the French, as eldest son of the Church, to intervene with His Majesty the Sultan in order that our hierarchy may be recognized by him as independent and that he may protect us against every intrigue as much on the part of the Greeks as every other party. And we also pray the French Government to deign to grant us its protection as it does the other nations of the Ottoman Empire who recognize the Church of Rome." Then followed the signatures.

A special letter was also addressed to Monsignor Hassun, then Primate of the Armenians. It ran as follows: "Constantinople,

⁴ In 1870 the Bulgarian Church threw off the yoke of the Greek Patriarch and became an independent autonomous Church.

November 23, 1860.—Excellency: The Roman Church has at all times had a paternal solicitude for the Christians of the East and for the preservation of their religious ceremonies, usages and other institutions adopted from time immemorial and maintained up to our days. To that end we have the security given by union with the Holy Roman Church. Conformable to the decisions of the Œcumenical Council of Florence, our liturgy, rites, ceremonies and religious usages instituted by the Holy Fathers, and religiously preserved, shall not be entirely modified, but that, quite the contrary, shall be respected, and that our national hierarchy and our national clergy alone shall govern us. And they shall not cease to act thus on this occasion. Imploring your blessing, we are, your spiritual children," etc.

To this Monsignor Hassun replied: "We, Antony Hassun, Archbishop-Primate of Constantinople, Assistant at the Pontifical Throne, etc., to the Most Reverend Archimandrites Macarius and Joseph and the worthy clergy and Bulgarian people assembled at Constantinople, dearest sons in Jesus Christ, health and benediction. It is with lively satisfaction we hasten to reply to the letter dated yesterday which you have been pleased to send us regarding the union you have effected with the Roman Church, conformable to the decisions of the Œcumenical Council of Florence. This union being only a return to the Mother Church, from which you have from the beginning received your hierarchy, your liturgy, rites, ceremonies and religious usages, instituted by the Holy Fathers and religiously preserved up to our days, shall not only not be changed, but shall be respected and receive a new consecration, as the present Supreme Pontiff, His Holiness Pope Pius IX., in his encyclical of the 6th of January, 1848, addressed to the Orientals solemnly proclaims: 'We equally hasten to assure you that, in conformity with the said encyclical, your clergy, with its national hierarchy, shall be respected and confirmed in its honors and dignities; consequently the clergy and hierarchy who shall govern you will be your own clergy and your own national hierarchy under the protection of the supremacy of the Supreme Pontiffs who have loved so much your nation, so flourishing in ancient times with its own rites and its language. Dear sons in Our Lord Jesus Christ, be thou entirely reassured on that subject; put no faith in the suggestions of those who, as St. Paul wrote to the Philippians, 'seek the things that are their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's,'⁵ and continue to remain faithful subjects of our august sovereign, His Majesty the Sultan, who among so

⁵ Philippians ii., 21.

many favors has so generously accorded freedom of worship to his subjects throughout his whole empire. You ought, like us, recognize the value of such a great favor, and more than ever loyally serve his imperial government, in conformity, too, to the holy words of Our Saviour, who has said in the Holy Gospel: 'Reddite ergo quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo' ('Render, therefore, unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's').⁶ Remember that, following this divine precept, St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, prescribes to the faithful, particularly in his first letter: 'Honor all men, love the brotherhood, fear God, honor the King.'⁷ Whereupon we accord you the holy benediction and pray the good God to bestow all His favors upon you.

"Given in our residence at Constantinople the 24th of November, 1860. A. Hassun."

On Sunday, December 30, 1860, two archimandrites, three priests, twenty "esnaf" or chiefs and two hundred representatives of the different corporate bodies presented themselves before the two prelates and with much solemnity completed the act of union.

One said: "The entrance of the Bulgars into the Roman Church is an accomplished fact. That most important occurrence took place on Sunday morning with great solemnity in the Church of the Holy Ghost. The province awaits with impatience the news of the union. It looks as if along with that all Bulgaria will embrace the Catholic faith." A paper of the country wrote: "Joy uplifts our souls and we can hardly express our sentiments! The 30th of December, 1860, is a glorious day for our nation; it will be the first national festival of Bulgaria." The news was proclaimed throughout the Province on the same day. The Government made no opposition. The Grand Vizier declared to a deputation of the same persons that freedom of conscience in Turkey was henceforward an accomplished fact.

The act of adhesion was sent to Rome, and Pius IX. replied: "We have experienced an extreme joy in the Lord when, after the different notices already published about the return of the Bulgarians to the faith and Catholic unity, we have seen that this mode of proceeding, so salutary and so desirable, had, thanks be to God, had a happy beginning, since in these days you have sent us, Venerable Brother, the letter which several Bulgarian ecclesiastics and laity have addressed to us, to our great delight, that the inspiration of divine grace has drawn them from the abyss

⁶ St. Matthew xxii., 21.

⁷ First Epistle ii., 17.

of a most disastrous schism and caused them to return to the bosom of the Catholic Church, that mother full of love. And by this they declare to us expressly in the same letter that they believe and profess all that the Holy Roman Church, mother and mistress of all the churches, believes and teaches, and recognize with respect and full submission the Roman Pontiff as the head of the whole Catholic Church, the Vicar of Our Lord Jesus Christ on earth and the successor of the Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, as they have done honor to themselves by declaring nobly and publicly with a solemn profession of faith, formulated in your presence, in presence of the Venerable Brother Antony, Archbishop-Primate of the Armenians, and in presence of other Prefects Apostolic and priests of both clergy (Latin and Armenian) on the 30th of last December. Then the above-mentioned letters of the Bulgarians have reached us in the midst of the anguish caused us by the bitterest calamities that oppress the Church in these days full of grief, and the multiplied dangers that on every side beset the Catholic flock. We have given thanks, with all the humility of our heart, to the God of all consolation who has been pleased, in this joyful event, to give us such a sweet consolation in our sorrow. Without any delay, we have written, Venerable Brother, the present letter in which we recommend you to announce also in our name to these same Bulgarian Uniats that we are full of joy at their return to the faith and Catholic unity, so much desired. And also in our name assure them, in the most affectionate terms, of the singular and very paternal tenderness we feel towards them, embracing them lovingly, as our dearest sons and as those of the Catholic Church; disposed besides to do everything that can contribute to their greater spiritual advantage. May it please God that we may soon embrace and see united to us and this Chair of Peter all the other members of the noble Bulgarian nation, principally those that are in sacred orders and are honored with other ecclesiastical dignities! These same dear children, the Bulgarian Uniats, have expressed to us most respectfully in their aforesaid letters wishes for the preservation of their sacred and legitimate rites, their ceremonies, their liturgy and hierarchy. And, therefore, Venerable Brother, confirm in our name what the Venerable Brother Antony, Archbishop-Primate of the Armenians, has written them, that we very willingly grant them what we have expressed and clearly declared in our Encyclical Letter to the Orientals of the 6th of January, 1848. We have no doubt whatever that these same Bulgarian Uniats will continue, with the fidelity that is required of and becomes

Catholics, to serve His Majesty the Sultan, sovereign of the Turks. But while giving all this information to these same dear children, the Bulgarian Uniats, and communicating to them our letter, tell them also that we send them lovingly, from the bottom of our heart, the Apostolic blessing, wishing them all that contribute to their true happiness and that we cease not to address to the good and most high God the most ardent prayers, that He may always bestow on them more abundantly the plenitude of the riches of His divine grace. Finally, as a pledge of our particular good will to you, Venerable Brother, we impart to you lovingly the Apostolic blessing, as well as to all your clergy and all the faithful laity confided to your solicitude. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, the 24th of January, 1861, the fifteenth year of our pontificate."

In pursuance of this Brief the new converts proposed as Bishop an old Archimandrite named Joseph Sokolski, whom a deputation accompanied to Rome, and there, presented to the Pope by Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Propaganda, was read this address: "Behold us at your feet, we, representatives of the Bulgarian Uniats, chosen by them to come to you to testify our sincere return to the faith of our fathers, already children of this same Roman Church and nourished by her in their infancy with the milk of the purest doctrine. As long as our nation remained docile and faithful under the guidance of the father of the great Christian family, the legitimate successor of the Apostle St. Peter, to whom was given command to feed the lambs and sheep (John xxi., 17), we were happy and received abundance of spiritual and temporal blessings. But seduced by a bad example and perfidious counsels, we transgressed too by asking, or rather taking the portion of our inheritance, and quitted the unity of the family to wander and be lost in the more distant and desolate region of error. Alas! for many centuries we have fed on husks; that is, the impure doctrine of the Photian schism, and as we were dying of misery and hunger, we thought of our Father, of Him who has truly begotten us and brought us forth to the life of Christianity, and we said: Let us arise and go to find Him, acknowledging with confusion and penitence to have sinned against heaven and against Him. So, most Holy Father, we return to the paternal home, already encouraged by your appeal, which is not only that of forgiveness, but also the voice of affection and love. We are the feeble interpreters of all our Bulgarian brethren united to us in the same profession of Catholic faith. If there are even prejudices, ignorance and other obstacles that stop us on the threshold, the blessing you will give us will also, we hope, draw down upon

them the same grace and we will all again form one flock under one shepherd."

His Holiness replied: "It is with great joy I receive the deputation of the Bulgarians; my heart is moved by the news that a portion of them is returning to the faith of their fathers. This return is to me at present one of my consolations. May God strengthen them in their holy resolution and make them persevere in the union, drawing others thereto! And that I have asked in my prayers for some time, and above all during Holy Week. I have offered the Holy Sacrifice many times to this end: I hope that God has heard and answered our prayer. Next Sunday I shall myself consecrate that good old man, the Archimandrite, thus resuming the tradition of my predecessor, Pope St. Nicholas I., who imposed hands on your first Archbishop." On April 14, 1861, Joseph Sokolski was, in fact, consecrated by Pius IX. with great solemnity in the Sistine Chapel.

This Romeward movement was opposed by the Greek Patriarch and the Russian Embassy for obvious reasons. They did everything in their power to lead the converts back to the Photian schism. Sir Henry Bulwer,⁸ the British Ambassador at Constantinople, and Prince Zabanoff, the Russian Ambassador, at variance about everything else, were agreed on this. The former sent a consular agent to Philippopolis, supplied with money, to stir up an anti-Catholic movement, but the money was wasted. The Capuchin missionaries, faithful guardians of the flock, did their duty.

When the new Bishop returned to Constantinople, everything prospered marvelously for a time, and there was promise of the most favorable results for the civil and religious regeneration of the people, when suddenly, early in June, a rumor was spread that Bishop Sokolski had vanished from Constantinople. This rumor, which at first seemed either exaggerated or artfully disseminated by some malignant person, so unlikely was it thought, was found to be too true, but without any one being able to throw light on its foundation or the why or wherefore of the deplorable event. At last it was found out that the unhappy Sokolski was in Odessa, whence he was relegated to an obscure monastery in Kiew. In Odessa he visited the seminary, where he found Bulgarian students in large numbers. When some of these young men asked him for what motive he had fled his eyes filled with tears, and after a brief silence he replied that he was unworthily entrapped,

⁸ Sir Henry Bulwer (Lord Dalling) was, at the close of the Crimean War, appointed successor of Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, Ambassador Extraordinary to Constantinople. On his return from the Bosphorus in the winter of 1865 he retired from the diplomatic service.

and bitterly grieved at being sent to a foreign country, far from his new flock, doubtless accompanied with their maledictions, to be ultimately deprived of his proper dignity. One of the seminarists having asked him if he would consent to return to his post, he replied: "It is impossible; I am in iron hands," and he began to weep.

He was an octogenarian. He was deported to Kiew; nothing else was known. A correspondent of a leading Catholic organ afterwards stated that the Bulgarian Bishop, Joseph Sokolski, had not apostatized,⁹ and was perfectly sound; a very good man, but who did not unite to the simplicity of the dove the prudence of the serpent. He was allured, it is not known under what pretext, to the Russian Embassy at Constantinople, and as close to that embassy continually lies the steamer that goes to Odessa, he was made to go on board by some subterfuge or other. As soon as the prelate had put his foot on the deck the boat steamed off. When he heard of this seizure the Turkish Governor expressed his intention of demanding explanations through the medium of diplomatic intercourse. That frightened the emissaries of the Holy Synod, who then skilfully spread the rumor that the Bulgarian Bishop, fatigued after his preceding voyage to Rome, had died on disembarking at Odessa. The Sublime Porte, which was then too much embroiled with Russia, and whose agents are naturally parasites, availed of these rumors not to move any further.¹⁰

Notwithstanding the disappearance of Monsignor Sokolski and the strong opposition of the Greek Patriarch, the Bulgarian converts remained firm in their faith and increased in numbers. Father Cecilio, of Cairo, writing on behalf of Monsignor Canova, from Philippopolis on September 5, 1861, said: "Besides the fifty districts in the Province of Salonica alone have simultaneously given their adhesion to the Catholic religion, at present in the environs of Adrianople there are very numerous conversions, too, in the interior of the country. Here in the city of Philippopolis a vicar forane named Stancio, speedily sent to direct the new converts of Kazanlik, a short distance from this city, where is being built a church for them, has been converted. Our companion, D. Pietro Arabagiski, Bulgarian missionary of this our mission of Philip-

⁹ The Catholic Encyclopedia (Vol. II., art. "Bulgaria") says: "Sokolski lapsed back into schism in June, 1861." The well-known Italian periodical, conducted by the Jesuits, appears to have been better informed than the writer in the Encyclopedia, who gives no authority for his statement, for it was closer to the sources of authentic and reliable information.

¹⁰ *Civiltà Cattolica*. Correspondence from Petersburg. Series V., t. III., p. 672; August 16, 1862.

popolis, has been called to the post of Monsignor Sokolski. Cardinal Barnabo addressed a letter to him, in which he said that the Supreme Pontiff, after the defections that have taken place, having no longer any confidence in the newly converted Bulgarian ecclesiastics, begged him to come at once to Constantinople to preside over the mother church of the Bulgarian converts, enjoining him at the same time to substitute the Slav rite for the Latin rite used by him up to now in the exercise of divine worship."

The Capuchin mission had greatly enlarged its sphere of operations, embracing besides the two capitals of Sofia and Philippopolis, the stations of Aglano, Komakio, Ambarlia, Dovanlia, Selgikov, Daugior, Baltagia, Kalaschia, Gherene, Jamboli and Burgas. All these places were pleasantly situate and are now in a progressive position. Some created about the middle of 1800, and others of older foundation, were in Monsignor Canova's time the wildest under a corrupt and decadent government. Their progress is due to the influence of religion, Christian charity and the Catholic faith, thanks to the assiduous care and lofty spirit of the self-sacrificing missionaries. For all this we to-day must bless the venerable figure of Father Andrew Canova, of Garesio, and the memory of those who earnestly and zealously coöperated in the spiritual resurrection of the Bulgarian populations. The first years of his apostolate were certainly the most difficult, for the Turkish authorities, unbridled by any protecting Power and provoked by the Greco-schismatic clergy, raised up grave obstacles to the mission. But the universal esteem in which he was held on account of his virtues influenced the minds of his adversaries. The very heads of the Turkish cities and the heterodox sects began to have a great respect for the Vicar Apostolic, and the Greek Archbishop of Philippopolis himself did not think it unbecoming to pay homage to him. The great and lowly went to the good Vicar to solicit his advice in their disputes and at times of danger, and he had a good word for all, to draw them to the faith or give them a counsel based on experience and wisdom.

As to the state of the mission and the work of the Capuchins, it appears from an account sent at the close of 1859 by Father Andrew Canova to Propaganda that there were no Catholics for many years in Sofia and its vicinity because they had fled from persecution and had taken refuge in Bulgarian territory and in Rumelia. Notwithstanding that, the exercise of worship was free and continuous in all the churches. The church of Philippopolis, the centre of the mission, was enlarged, but being still narrow and poor they set their minds on building another more fitting and cap-

able of containing all the faithful. Considering then the state of the mission in 1859, it is evident that it had progressed both materially and spiritually. In fact, besides the churches and houses built in every village, the Capuchins had in Philippopolis a house for the Bishop, a second for the vicar general, a third for the male school, a fourth for the females and a hospital. In addition, in the same city was constructed a quarantine of small solidly built houses to receive poor families and a very large area for future edifices acquired from the Government. Among the church furniture was an organ built in Paris, the first introduced into Bulgaria.

"Some years before my arrival," wrote Monsignor Canova, "the Catholic religion was trampled upon by Turks and schismatics. My predecessor was led to cut the ice along with galley slaves; no missionary could wear ecclesiastical attire; no person distinctly of another communion ever honored the Vicar Apostolic with a visit. Now all the missionaries wear their respective habit. I am now honored with visits from the Pasha (Governor), grand Turks and schismatics, and when I go into their houses I am received with tokens of the most marked respect. The Catholic nation, too, now enjoys a reputation it had not in past times. They preach openly, all the practices of worship are conducted with every solemnity. In the past no Catholic knew how to read and write; now, instead, thanks to the teaching of the schools they frequent, those who have not some notion of knowledge are rare."

From what we have set forth of the very active work of Monsignor Canova, it clearly appears that the progress made since 1859 in the mission of Sofia and Philippopolis is to be attributed to the sagacious and indefatigable work of the missionary fathers, inspired solely by zeal for Christian morals and the glory of the Catholic faith rather than to political changes in European Turkey. The dream of Monsignor Canova was in great part realized. As testimonies of esteem he was the recipient from ecclesiastical and civil authorities of singular honors and decorations. After twenty-three years of a fruitful apostolate he began to feel the first strokes of the malady that in a few years was to lead him to the tomb and which he bore with tranquillity, patience and exemplary fortitude. When he saw that his system could no longer resist its progress, he went to Rome in 1864 to resign the office of Vicar Apostolic and beg permission to retire to some quiet cloister and there prepare for death. As soon as he began to express his wish to the Supreme Pontiff, the Pope, already aware of the immense good the prelate was doing in Bulgaria, and of the anxiety of missionaries and people to have him back with them, would not let him finish the sentence

and replied with his usual affability, "Monsignor, let us not speak of that." In these few words of the Head of the Church Monsignor Canova saw the expression of the will of God, humbly submitted and returned with renewed joy to his flock whom he had regretfully left, believing that in obeying he was fulfilling a conscientious duty. On the 4th of September, 1864, he was back in his mission to the great rejoicing of the Bulgarians and all his brethren. But the malady did not give him a moment's respite, and for two years more he was tortured with the greatest suffering. During its acutest phases he always gave an example of the most perfect resignation. At times his tongue, inflamed by fever, made wine unendurable, and so deprived him of the comfort of celebrating Mass. Four days before he died, although he could not keep his feet, he wanted to go to the church to say Mass for the last time. On the 15th of August, 1866, the disease conquered the resistance of the illustrious prelate and opened eternal life to his beautiful soul, purified by a very painful and protracted malady and sanctified by the constant practice of every religious virtue. So Bulgaria lost its pastor, the Capuchin Order a true disciple of the Seraphic Father St. Francis and the Church a model Bishop.

He was succeeded in the Vicariate by his vicar general, Father Francis Dominic Reynaudi, of Villafranca, who had been a fellow-student of the apostle of Africa, Cardinal Massaia,¹¹ and who was consecrated Titular Bishop of Egea at Constantinople on March 22, 1868, by Monsignor Velerga, and in 1885 promoted to the Titular Archbishopric of Staupoli. In 1872 he built the orphanage in Philippopolis, the monastery for tertiaries adjacent to it and the seminary and erected schools and a monastery in Adrianople. He will be long remembered in Bulgaria not only for his effective ministry, but for the self-sacrifice he displayed during the Russo-Turkish War, all the calamities of which he shared with his brethren, assisting the sick and dying, lavishing material and spiritual succor on those who needed them and winning the admiration of the whole people, who saw in him a consoling angel. The Turks and Bulgars being at daggers drawn in 1877, Monsignor Reynaudi,

¹¹ This most distinguished member of the Capuchin Order, Guglielmo Massaia, was born on June 9, 1809, at Piova, in Piedmont, and died at Cremona on August 6, 1889. He was confessor to Victor Emmanuel, who became the first King of united Italy, and Ferdinand, Duke of Genoa. The first Vicar Apostolic of Gallas, in Abyssinia, a mission confided to the Capuchins, he was a great missionary-Bishop. A very strenuous life of thirty-five years' missionary work in Abyssinia has, at the command of the Pope, been recorded by him in a work entitled "I miei trentacinque anni de missione nell' alta Ethiopia." He had much to endure from the opposition of the schismatic Copts, and was seven times exiled, but always returned to his labors with renewed vigor.

by his authority, his affability and his mildness, often succeeded in restoring peace and preventing bloodshed. The Turks, thirsting for blood, saw with an evil eye the intervention of Europeans in their political affairs. At the close of that very year the authorities several times proposed to Monsignor Reynaudi to abandon their possessions along with all the Catholics, offering to pay all the expenses of their departure. But the Vicar, seeing in the invitation the insidious intention of removing Europeans so that they might not be witnesses of the massacre of the native Christians the Turks were planning, replied that he placed himself in the hands of Providence and that, at the cost of his life, he would never abandon his people in the moment of their greatest danger. When the massacre of the Bulgarians took place, faithful to his word, he gave heroic help to those suffering people. During the war the charity of the missionaries towards all, without distinction of race or religion, was greatly admired and highly extolled by Turks, Bulgars, Greeks and Russians. The Czar, in recognition of the services of the Capuchins to his soldiers, decorated Monsignor Reynaudi with the Cross of St. Anne. When, after the war, the European Powers sent a commission to Philippopolis to settle affairs in the Balkans, the Bishop, by his authority and his thorough local knowledge of men and things, rendered the greatest service in the solution of the grave political interests involved. Among the conclusions arrived at on the proposal of the European delegates was one that honored the religious orders. The organic statute, promulgated by Eastern Rumelia, contained the following article: "All the heads of religious communities shall possess the right of being members of the National Assembly and he who is the oldest in that office shall be the honorary president of the same until the election of the effective president." In pursuance of this law, Monsignor Reynaudi, as *doyen* of all his colleagues, was elected President of the Parliament, an office he filled worthily during three legislatures. In his speeches at the opening of the Assembly he always counseled them not to bestow so much attention upon extern or foreign politics as upon the development of agriculture and commerce, the true sources of the economic welfare of the country. His parliamentary work, wholly devoted to the well-being and moral elevation of the people, increased the esteem in which he was held by all classes of persons, not only in Bulgaria, but abroad. King Humbert, knowing the merits of this distinguished man, who by his word and work was an honor to Italy, bestowed on him in 1890 the Cross of St. Michael and St. Lazarus. In the year following (October, 4, 1891) he celebrated his missionary golden jubilee, when he was the recipient of

further honors from Ferdinand I., Prince of Bulgaria, and from France the Cross of the Legion of Honor. The blessing of the new church in Kalasclia, built by Father Samuel, of Prato, who was his vicar general for ten years, took place on this occasion, which was graced by the presence of the Prefect of Philippopolis, the French diplomatic agent in Sofia, the Austrian consul, the schismatic Bulgarian Bishop and many nobility. In 1885, when he resigned the administration of the mission to Monsignor Robert Menini, the aged prelate, being then eighty-three, retired to the quiet village of Kalasclia, where he died on the 24th of July, 1893.

Monsignor Menini has continued with increasing success the apostolic work of his predecessors in the vicariate. Two hospitals, an orphanage, three infant asylums, four colleges, new schools for the people, new residences for the missionaries and new houses for the poor bear witness to the work of the Capuchins. After thirty years in the episcopate Monsignor Menini was, in 1912, assigned a coadjutor in the person of Father (now Monsignor) Cletus, of Baltagia, who had been Commissary-Provincial of the Commissariate of the East.

The missionary activities of the Capuchins extend over a very wide range of territories in the Near East. Besides the missions in Constantinople, Sofia and Philippopolis, they have been laboring fruitfully in Cephalonia, the largest of the Ionian Islands; St. Maura, Corfu, Scio, Zante, the islands of the Levant, Smyrna, Candia or Crete, where one of the Capuchins, Father Ignatius, of Apiro, died in the odor of sanctity and where many of the brethren were persecuted and displayed great heroism, their inspiring example and indefatigable zeal producing a revival of Catholicism in the whole island; in the islands in the Ægean Sea, in Palestine, Syria, Persia, Mesopotamia, Georgia and Trebizond. They have not only had much to endure from wars, persecution, pestilence and earthquakes, but they have had to combat the subtle opposition of heretics and schismatics, for there is not, nor ever has been, a strange doctrine that has not had its followers in the East—Ebionists, Corinthians, Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Pelagians, Monophysites, Monothelites, Photians, etc. To dispel the darkness of inherited errors which clouded the minds of races fanatically and obstinately attached to them and shed the light of truth in souls, to revive the Christian spirit among long-oppressed peoples and elevate them morally and intellectually, called for a legion of new apostles. The Capuchins, true sons of St. Francis, have answered the call.

Along with the Capuchins the other religious orders ministering in Bulgaria are the Passionists, Marists, Assumptionists and Resur-

rectionists. The first named in the Vicariate of Sofia and Philippopolis number about thirty-one. The Coadjutor *cum jure successionis*, Monsignor Cletus Vincent Pejov, O. S. F. C., was consecrated titular Bishop of Lyrba on December 13, 1912. Another Capuchin prelate is Monsignor Francis Camillus Carrara, Vicar Apostolic of Erythræa and Bishop of Agathopolis, a see suffragan to Adrianople.

The Catholics of Bulgaria are directly subject to the Bishop of Nicopolis, Monsignor John Theelen, C. P., who governs a Catholic population of 15,000, having his seat at Rustchuk, and the Vicar Apostolic of Sofia and Philippopolis, who has 14,880 Latin Catholics and 1,000 Greeks under his jurisdiction. Thirteen thousand of the Uniat Bulgarians remained true to the Roman Church. Thrace contains 3,000 Catholics and Macedonia 5,950 Græco-Bulgarian Catholics. The few Latin Catholics in Adrianople are dependent on the Vicar Apostolic of Constantinople, and the Greek Catholics, numbering about 4,500, on the Vicar Apostolic of Thrace.

R. F. O'CONNOR.

Dublin, Ireland.

THE TWIN NATIONS.

WHILE the war is devastating the world and the belligerents on the one side and on the other are solemnly asserting that they fight to liberate the smaller nationalities, and while the neutral nations are agreed that freedom and independence be given to all peoples, and while democracy is getting a stronger foothold, liberty-deprived Ireland and Poland are approaching the court of justice and fair play. The struggle of Ireland and Poland to regain their rights and liberties has reached its climax in the war, from which will issue a broader acceptance of the rights and justice of individual nations.

Ireland's cause is the cause of Poland and Poland's cause is the cause of Ireland. Their joint cause is the cause of freedom and independence and—democracy. If we claim that Ireland has a right to self-existence and self-development, that this right is in keeping with her dignity as a separate nation, we assert the same of Poland. We cannot enumerate Poland's trials and triumphs, her ambitions and ideals and hopes, without enumerating those of Ireland. The struggle of Ireland, her sufferings and aspirations are one with those of Poland. Hand in hand, grown weary under the weight of centuries-old sufferings and trials, but alive to their inalienable rights, come Ireland and Poland, seeking no intervention of foreign Powers, begging no grace of their usurpers, but believing in the power of the most sacred and strongest of all rights—the right of living and self-development.

Their joint voice may not remain unheeded now when democracy, like a huge wave, is rolling over the world. The voice of Ireland and Poland is the voice of two wronged nations, which possess the strongest consciousness of their historical right and present all the essentials of youthful and energetic races, alike able and willing to labor for the betterment of humanity and the advancement of civilization.

"Twin Nations" is a fitting name to give Ireland and Poland. Though not related racially and territorially far apart, they are more alike for their religious and political life, for their genuine patriotism and their hope of a better future than any other two nations. Their sufferings were the same; their ideals are akin; both yearn to be free and independent. Their national missions were the noblest; their national trials stand in a class all of their own. Both have unjustly been accused of not being able for self-government. Both have erroneously been called turbulent people for the same obvious reason that both would at times justly rebel

against the foreign rule which would make them slaves. Their national indestructibility is phenomenal.

From the beginning the two nations entered upon a career peculiar to them alone. Their histories were not to be the histories of other nations. Their national development was to stand in total independence of that of other nations. Their common national sufferings were to win them the title of martyr nations. Their common histories have time and again been brought out in song and poetry. Historians have not failed to point out their likeness, while statesmen to-day are viewing their national development with the greatest interest.

It is interesting to note how the peculiar nature of their territories should so tend to shape the political development of the two people as to make them appear as one. The Isle of Erin, cut off from the Continent and surrounded by sea as if to guard it against foreign invasion, bears no resemblance to Poland in Central Europe, constantly exposed to the deluging inroads of the Tartar and the Turk. But yet the relation of their territories to their national missions constitute the fundamental reason for their political oneness.

God entrusted all nations with a peculiar mission. The Jews were to preserve primitive tradition; the Greeks, to realize the beautiful; the Romans, to develop the State. But Poland and Ireland were entrusted with the noblest of national missions; for Ireland was to teach the true faith and Poland to defend it. It is not hard to understand how their geographical locations determined their political careers, which were formally those of the fulfillment of their respective missions. Ireland, the teacher, could not better prepare to discharge her mission than by spending long ages in preparation in the seclusion of her territorial monastery. The Isle of Erin was a happy place for the Irish. Here they lived for themselves. Here the Irish were happily free from all that undesirable influence of thought and religion which easily found its way elsewhere. Here the Irish, unmolested, attained to a relatively high civilization long before Greece and Rome rose to intellectual prominence. Their religion was free from those pagan abominations which characterized it elsewhere. The Irish were early preparing to receive the teachings of the Redeemer, which, having once received, they never swerved from.

Ireland was territorially set apart from the rest of the world, and as a happy consequence remained free from all that undesirable influence and those hurtful fluctuations which found an easy access elsewhere. It is not hard to understand, then, the readiness and unflinching fervor with which the Irish embraced the true faith at the advent of their celebrated patron, St. Patrick. They were ripe

for the reception of Christianity, more so than any other people; for long before the Gospel was preached to them they had developed a foundation, a substratum, for Christianity.

But the influence Ireland's geographical position exerted upon her great mission is much more clearly brought out long after she had become Christian. The Irish lived for themselves; they grew accustomed to yield to no foreign influence, religious or social; for it seldom found its way to Ireland. The Irish considered that to be the best for them which they developed among themselves. Hence the Irish had shown themselves adverse to all influence of thought and religion which in other countries wrought much perversion. Hence Protestantism, which was so easily planted in the Scandinavian and in fact all the Northern countries, found no encouragement whatever among the Irish; all the persecutions they suffered failed in their end, and to-day "the Irish," as Brownson puts it, "are fulfilling an important mission in evangelizing the world."

But if Ireland's noble mission was to propagate Christianity, the equally noble mission of Poland was to defend it against the infidel. Victor Hugo could deservedly say of Poland: "While my own dear France was the missionary of civilization, Poland was its knight," and Parsons: "Just as to the sword of France the Europe of the early Middle Ages owed its escape from imminent Mussulman domination, so does modern Europe owe to Poland the great fact that she is not to-day either Turkish or Muscovite," and "Poland during her preëminent existence repelled ninety-two Tartar invasions, any one of which, if successful, would have at least jeopardized the existence of European civilization." Poland's mission was no less determined by territorial position than was that of Ireland. Unlike Ireland, Poland could not spend long ages in preparation, for Central Europe was the very hotbed of never-ceasing migration of nations.

Poland's appearance among the family of nations was surprisingly sudden and in keeping with her national mission. Two hostile powers were developing: Christianity in the West and Infidelism in the Southeast. Either meant to destroy the other—the crush was becoming inevitable—the time was fast approaching when the two would enter a death-life struggle. It was Poland's mission to stand between them and keep them apart.

In the ninth century Poland was first heard of as a kingdom. In the same century she received Christianity. In the eleventh century, under the indomitable Chrobry, Poland had already risen to a dominant power, ready to undertake the arduous task of her mission—to defend Christendom against the Hun, the Tartar and the Turk. Poland rose at once—she could not undergo a long process of de-

velopment as did Ireland—her mission was of an instantaneous nature. The need of warding off the East from the West was growing imminent, and Poland was called upon to perform the task.

The political life of the two countries had admittedly been a singular one. It stands in complete independence of that of other nations. A mere summary of their histories establishes a political parallel peculiar to them alone. Both Poland and Ireland were independent nations. Both enjoyed their own constitutional laws, both were settling their own affairs and lived a happy and contented people. If Poland rose to greater political preëminence it was perhaps because her mission demanded that she should occupy a prominent place among the family of European nations. Had Poland not been a powerful kingdom she would not have been able efficaciously to stay the surging waves of the Turkish deluge. The mission with which Ireland was entrusted was not of a nature to require Ireland to rise to a political preëminence equal to that of Poland. She was to be the modest teacher rather than the indomitable warrior commanding the respect of the Eastern barbarians. Later the two nations became overwhelmed by a superior force and subjugated, and the foreign yoke has since weighed on them. They were both on the verge of extinction, their usurpers trying every possible means to denationalize them. If the impious motto, "*Divide et Impera*," has ever been employed by a usurper with a view to suppressing a people, it was against Poland and Ireland. Still the two nations, while they have preserved their faith pure and their nationality distinct, are possessed of a virulent vital force together with a racial coherence that is surprising. They are each a nation or rather resurrecting nation commanding universal respect. Perhaps there is only this difference in the history of the two people, that Ireland entered upon her political career first; Ireland came first into political being; she became subjugated long before the subjugation of Poland had taken place, and to-day her persecutions suffer a notable relax. Poland followed Ireland's political career all along, only Poland to-day is as yet Ireland groaning under the Penal Laws.

There are no other two nations whose rights were more inhumanely trampled upon. When England took possession of Ireland it would seem that Ireland should have been given considerations such as are at least due to a tributary country. What should it matter to England what religion the Irish professed—what language they spoke, what national customs they followed and jealously guarded? England could rule over Ireland without interfering with these their God-given rights. Ireland could have been allowed polit-

ical consideration that would be in conformity with her dignity as a separate nation.

When the Irish asserted to Henry VIII. their God-given right of continuing a separate people and refused to sanction the acts of their leaders proclaiming the inviolability of their country and rose against their usurper, they were declared rebels and traitors and dealt with accordingly. Queen Elizabeth invented new means for bringing about a speedy annihilation of the Irish. Elizabeth's "Protestant Plantations," Cromwell's war of extermination—these were the measures which, while they thrill with horror the reader of the Irish history of that time, make one justly wonder why the Irish race should have survived it all and presented for all ages an admirable example of the cohesive strength and indestructibility of a race. Then came the Penal Laws, which were a prototype of the Expropriation Act Prussia enacted against the Poles in 1908, and which, though apparently prohibiting the natives from obtaining land into possession, were ultimately meant to make a total wreck of the people. The Irish were exiles on their own soil, and Prendergast could fitly ask: "Had they not a right to live on their own soil?" A veritable parody on the national rights of a people! But yet what more wonderful than that the Irish should have survived the very maelstrom of anti-Irish measures and establish the strongest antecedent of the national integrity of a people?

No nation has been nearer the verge of a total extinction. And yet, though apparently crushed by the tyranny of Cromwell, though deprived for ages of what is considered the basis of nationality—self-government—the Irish rose superior to every measure of their adversary, and to-day they exhibit an exuberant individuality, a distinct national character, a unanimity of feeling, devotedness to principle and love for country and religion. All the centuries of blood and misery failed to destroy their national spirit and rob them of their religion. If all the persecution succeeded in accomplishing anything, it made them one—it united them—it developed among them, together with an extraordinary love for their religion, a deep love for their martyr country. They are being born to a new independent national life.

Poland reiterates Ireland's history. After a splendid political career of nine centuries, Poland, like another Ireland, had been shorn of self-government and subjugated for no other reason than because such impious course would help advance the interests of her selfish neighbors. The whole policy of Poland's usurpers was in its end that of England against Ireland—to wipe out every vestige of national life in Poland. Poland was with them a conquered

country, and the maxim, "To the victor belongs the spoils of war," was applied to her most rigorously. Poland, like another Ireland, has been dealt with without any regard to her religious or national rights, and when in all justness she rose in vindication of her sacred rights she was declared a rebellious country. The Poles who rose in defense of their national rights suffered the fate of the patriotic Irish after their surrender at Limerick and after they rose against England and gallantly fought for freedom at Athlone and Aughrim. If Ireland's defeats were followed by an age of gloom, so were those of Poland. The course which Russia and Prussia adopted towards Poland after her insurrections failed would have no parallel in history for oppression were it not for the sufferings which were inflicted upon Ireland.

"Had the Irish followed the English as a nation," says Thebaud in his "History of Ireland," "Elizabeth would not have made war on them or introduced her plantations." No doubt, could Poland act on the injunction of Alexander II., "that the happiness of Poland depends on the entire fusion with the rest of my empire," Russia would not have attempted to destroy her Polish subjects. But, unfortunately, this they could not do. They constituted separate and distinct nationalities, whose "character," as Thebaud puts it, "once established cannot be eradicated without an almost total disappearance of the people." They possessed a religion separate and antagonistic to that of their usurpers. They realized the inward feeling of their national dignity. They had a soul—a consciousness of their own. Neither the Polish nor the Irish could any more discard their nationality than they could disavow their religion; for these constituted the very essence of the Irish and the Polish. The very idea of despoiling them of their ideals was as unreasonable and impious as it was impossible. The only alternative, if considered without reference to morality, that lay in the hands of Poland's usurpers was either to let them alone or kill them off.

Ireland and Poland are in spirit opposed to the Powers which took upon themselves to dominate them. This fact, while it was much responsible for their natural suffering, proved a strong factor in saving them from becoming assimilated. The two nations are an agricultural rather than a commercial people. They are radically opposed to the lust of power and world domination. Neither Ireland nor Poland had in their long record of history wronged or oppressed any nation. Neither had as much as attempted to rob any people of their sacred birthright of liberty. They had never raised their sword in an unjust cause. If Ireland and Poland ever unsheathed their swords, it was not to extend their power, to subjugate peoples,

to carry aggressive warfare, but it was in the highest, the holiest and best of causes—the freedom of peoples and their own freedom, the altar of God and the altar of the nation!

Ireland and Poland had never shown autocratic tendencies. They led a communal life. They had their kings, but they were really presidents elected by the people. They were the most democratic nations in their time. They had their civilization based on law ennobled and made rich by their native genius and the culture of a free people.

The Irish and the Polish are a liberty-loving people. Where liberty demands a service there the Irish and the Polish are invariably found. Their common cause is the cause of freedom. Their uprisings had this single objective—to regain their freedom and independence, of which they had been deprived.

There has been an accusation heaped alike on the Irish as on the Polish, unjust as it is unreasonable, that they are not able for self-government; that they are turbulent people; that they are little disposed to compromise; that they seem to lack that mutual compromise which characterizes other people and which is a necessary asset to order and a continuous existence of self-government—that the Irish and the Polish are better off to continue a subject people.

A more unjust accusation has never been made against any people. Have the Irish and the Polish not actually governed, and governed well? Is their subjection consequent upon their inability to self-govern, or is perhaps the “alleged” inability to govern self consequent upon their subjection? Had the Irish not creditably governed self before England imposed her laws on them, or had the Polish not being a self-governing people prior to the Partitions? The Irish had laws with power to enforce them. They had their chiefs and their judges and the people respected them. There was peace and mutual concession among them then. They were a most peaceful people. The Brehon laws rivaled the Justinian code. Poland, too, had her laws and her republican government for nine centuries. The Poles were a law abiding people. The laws of Casimir the Great were known for their equity and fittingness. The Constitution of the 3d of May stands to this day a most perfect charter of the liberties of people. Let Ireland be restored her government and she will, as of old, not only be able to self-govern, but to serve an example to other people. Let Poland become free and she will continue to preach her gospel of democracy and be a bulwark against the rampant lust for world power.

Just why should Poland and Ireland be the most persecuted and ill-governed countries under heaven; why they should have been

denied religious freedom; denied their very national life; why they should have been doomed to extinction without effective protest on the part of other nations we will yet have to learn. But what we have learned about them is this: that no matter what persecution and annihilative measures are yet in store for them, they shall not yield one iota of their faith and nationality—their very national soul. They have stood proof against all destructive hurricanes, hardened and rendered indestructible by long ages of persecution.

No other two histories stand forth so conspicuous for their likeness as do those of Ireland and Poland. If Ireland had her Elizabeth, Poland had her Catherine. If Ireland had her Henry VIII., Poland had her Bismarck. If Ireland had her deportations, Poland had them after her uprisings. If Ireland groaned under the Penal Laws which tended to make a total wreck of the people, Poland is suffering under the abject expropriation act, which is the last alternative of Germany to destroy the Polish race.

Ireland is fitly called the "Isle of Saints." Perhaps no nation sent so many missionaries into foreign lands and more strongly adhered to the principles of faith than the gallant Irish nation. Poland has earned her epithet, the "Bulwark of Christendom," in her struggles against Asiatic races. Poland gave birth to a gallantry of knights that are seldom found amidst other peoples—not the Cæsar or Napoleon type, but true Christian knights who fought not to inflict pain, but to relieve mankind of suffering. Chrobry, Henry the Pious, Sobieski and Kosciuszko were soldiers who fought, not in self-interest, but for the good of humanity at large.

But it is their wonderful national indestructibility that makes them alike more than anything else. No other two nations have been nearer the verge of total extinction. But though apparently crushed by tyranny and aggressive measures, though for ages deprived of what is considered the basis of nationality, self-government, the Irish and the Polish to-day exhibit an exuberant individuality, a distinct national character, a unanimity of feeling, a devotedness to principle and love for country and religion.

Nothing succeeded in blighting their nationality. To-day the Irish and the Polish are numerically stronger than they ever had been. They exhibit an energizing vitality which evidences itself in the vigorous growth of mental and spiritual life, and if all the nefarious measures which have been launched against them ever since their downfall accomplished anything, they consolidated them into insuperable bodies. They enkindled in them a love for their country and made them strongly patriotic. All the persecutions which Poland and Ireland suffered produced the very opposite

effect from the one intended by their usurpers. They made the Polish more Polish and Irish more Irish. If the Irish to-day possess their individuality as distinct as though they were ruled by the O'Neil dynasty, only that they are imbued with the greatest unity of feeling and devotedness to principles, the Polish to-day are certainly the very same as when ruled by the Piast dynasty, by Chrobry the Great, Batory and Sobieski the Mighty. They are the very same as they were when they made that gallant fight for freedom and independence under Kosciuszko. True, Ireland and Poland are not recognized as national units and lack all the externals of a government, but if a nation is, as a writer in the *North American Review* (Vol. CXV., p. 389) puts it, "a race of men, small or great, whom community of traditions and feeling binds together into a firm and indestructible unity and whose love of the same past directs their hopes and fears to the same future," then both Ireland and Poland are still two great nations of the world.

Their glorious histories are ever present to their minds; no misfortune will break down and dishearten them. They are full of bright anticipations. They think of the resurrection of their countries, Ireland to-day would be recreant to her past if she did not feel for Poland, so often called the Ireland of the East. Irishmen would not be the chivalrous and brave race were they not to welcome a free and independent Poland, as Poles would not be the lovers of freedom were they not to rejoice when Ireland has been declared free.

A. J. ZIELINSKI.

WOMEN SCHOLARS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

THIS brief paper may be prefaced at the outset by stating that the women scholars of the Middle Ages were preëminently the "religious," the nuns, the women who, flying from the distractions, snares, temptations or pleasures of the world to the secure refuge of the convents, employed their leisure moments, few as they were in many cases, in the labors of the schools, in studying the Bible, the histories of the saints and the masterpieces of Greek and Latin literature, which owed their preservation to the loving and intelligent care of the inmates of the monasteries. Not only did these pious women study, but they imparted their knowledge to others, and thus helped to keep the torch of learning alight through all the vicissitudes of war and the constant change of rulers or of dynasties with all their attendant circumstances, whether for good or evil.

To quote a writer, Maitland, who has made an exhaustive study of these same Middle Ages, which roughly speaking may be said to have lasted for one thousand years, from the fifth to the end of the fifteenth century: "It is impossible to get even a superficial knowledge of the mediæval history of Europe without seeing how greatly the world of that period was indebted to the monastic orders and feeling that, whether they were good or bad in other matters, monasteries were beyond all price in those days of misrule and turbulence, as places where, it may be imperfectly, but yet better than elsewhere, God was worshiped, as a quiet and religious refuge for helpless infancy and old age, a shelter of respectful sympathy for the orphan maiden and the desolate widow, as central points whence agriculture was to spread over bleak hills and barren downs and marshy plains, and deal bread to millions perishing with hunger and its pestilential train, as repositories of the learning which then was, and well-springs for the learning which was to be, as nurseries of art and science, giving the stimulus, the means and the reward to invention, and aggregating around them every head that could devise and every hand that could execute." In fine, the monasteries were the great missionary, civilizing and educational centres of the world.

In special reference to women it has well been said by another writer in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* that: "The institution of monachism was the only corrective in the Middle Ages of those habits and ideas which tended to degrade women. The cloister was not alone the single secure shelter for women who had no strong arm to rely on, but it provided the only alternative profession to

marriage, and that one recognized by public opinion as of even higher distinction, and opening to women positions of substantial rank and authority, less precarious than the possession of real estate, which might only serve to attract cupidity and so invite attack. The abbess of a great Benedictine house was more than the equal of any, save the wife of a very great noble, and as single women were not obliged to look to wedlock as the only path to safety, they were more likely to mate on equal terms, and less likely to be viewed as the mere slaves or toys of the stronger sex."

This is looking at the matter in its mere worldly aspect, but the chief point to be noticed in connection with the religious women of the Middle Ages is the fact that the all-paramount reason for their entering convents was that they might serve God more perfectly than they could do in the world. That always has been and is the cause that impels women to embrace the religious life.

Naturally, among the great numbers of nuns who were noted for their scholarly attainments the names of some stand out more prominently than others, like, for instance, that of Dame Juliana Berners, a nun of Hertfordshire, prioress she was of Sopewell Nunnery, near St. Albans. Lady Juliana was of a distinguished family, her father, Sir James Berners, having been of sufficient importance to be beheaded in May, 1388, during the reign of Richard II. Old chronicles report the prioress as being very beautiful and high spirited and also extremely fond of the chase. Indeed, no species of sport seemed to come amiss to the Lady Juliana. These characteristics, however, would scarcely entitle her to a place among the scholars were it not that she was the first woman who is known to have written English verse. In fact, she is claimed as the first woman writer in the English language. She wrote three rhyming treatises on "Hawking, Hunting, Fishing with an Angle" and "Coat Armour," which were published in 1486 under the title "Boke of St. Albans." It would seem these were rather singular subjects for the prioress of a nunnery to expatiate upon, but as an old writer quaintly remarked: "Amongst the many solaces of human life she held the sports of the field in great estimation, and was desirous of conveying these arts by her writings to the youth as the first elements of nobility."

The prioress of Sopewell Nunnery, however, came rather late in the Middle Ages, and long before she penned her English rhymes there were other scholarly religious women in other English religious houses. Back in the early years of the seventh century stands out in wonderful prominence the figure of St. Hilda, abbess of Whitby, the Saxon woman whose life is so intimately connected with that of the early English Church and early English literature,

and who was of the royal family of Northumbria and grandniece of Edwin, the first Christian king. St. Hilda founded the famous Abbey of Whitby about 657 and ruled with rare ability over a double community of monks and nuns that gathered around her, for in some of the orders of the Church these double monasteries were to be found, and it was the usual thing for the abbess to exercise the chief authority. All accounts agree that St. Hilda was a just, a wise and a prudent ruler. Learned herself, she encouraged learning in others. Pious to a degree, she fostered piety in those under her charge. Burning with zeal for the conversion of those living in darkness, she sent forth missionaries and Bishops, bearing the light of faith to distant countries. Wise in counsel, she was the adviser of the great ones of the land, kings and Bishops and princes, who sought to benefit by her wisdom. When Caedmon the cowherd, the "Father of Anglo-Saxon Poetry," first began to repeat his inspired verses it was the Abbess Hilda who encouraged him, gave him opportunities for education, and made him translate the Bible into Anglo-Saxon, and Caedmon, the precursor of Milton, sang before the abbess of the "Revolt of Satan" a thousand years earlier than the author of "Paradise Lost" penned his immortal work, and his verse, the earliest Anglo-Saxon metrical work in existence, may still be admired even when placed side by side with the great modern epic. When St. Hilda died in 680 her communities mourned as for the loss of a mother, and even to our own days were there churches bearing her name in some of the English towns. At Whitby the tradition lingered long that on a summer forenoon, when the sun shone in the highest window of the north part of the abbey, the figure of St. Hilda could be discerned, and so inseparably was the name of the famous abbess associated with the place where she exercised her beneficent sway for so many years, that the ammonites, the fossil shell formations closely resembling a coiled serpent, are called St. Hilda's snakes, from an old popular belief that St. Hilda changed snakes into stones. These fossils were found in great abundance near the old monastery and are still to be seen on the rocks nearby. Scott in one of his poems alludes to the old tradition:

"Of thousand snakes, each one was changed into a coil of stone
When Holy Hilda prayed."

It is absolutely impossible to crowd into the limits of a brief sketch any account of the numbers of Anglo-Saxon nuns who distinguished themselves as scholars. Every convent contributed its quota; daughters of kings studied and worked and prayed side by

side with the humble peasant girl, all devoutly observing the rule—work, pray, study. A more or less active correspondence seems to have been engaged in by many of these learned nuns with their contemporaries. Indeed, oftentimes great saints like St. Boniface or St. Bernard depended on these learned and pious women for aid in their labors. They often asked, and were never refused, to have portions of the Scriptures copied for them; thus St. Boniface entreated the Abbess Edburge to send him the Epistles of St. Paul written in letters of gold, to inspire worldly men with the greater respect. Sometimes they asked for the vestments needed in the offices of the Church, for the illuminated missals which so many of the nuns were proficient in decorating, and even for assistance in their missionary labors. Some of these quaint old letters have been preserved and form most attractive reading. Among the correspondents of St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, for instance, was “St. Lioba, the well-beloved,” an Anglo-Saxon nun of Wimbourne. Lioba closes a letter to St. Boniface with “four lines of verse curious from their rhymed hexameters, which read thus in English :

“The Almighty Judge who in His Father’s realms
Created all and shines with endless light,
May He in glory reign and thee preserve
In everlasting glory and delight.”

Lioba introduces these verses with a letter, of which a few paragraphs may be quoted :

“I ask your clemency to recollect the friendship which some time ago you had for my father. His name was Tinne, he lived in the western parts and died about eight years ago. I beg you not to refuse to offer up prayers to God for his soul. My mother also desires to be remembered to you; her name is Ebba. She is related to you and lives now very laboriously, and has been long oppressed with great infirmity. I am the only daughter of my parents, and I wish, though I am unworthy, that I may deserve to have you for my brother, because in none of the human race have I so much confidence as in you. I have endeavored to compose these under written verses, according to the discipline of poetical tradition, not confident with boldness but desiring to excite the rudiments of your elegant mind and wanting your help. I learnt this art from the tuition of Eadburga, who did not cease to meditate the sacred law. Farewell, live long and happy and pray for me.” Then follow the four poetical lines, a poetical ending being quite usual in letters of the period.

Lioba is certainly a most attractive personality. She was noted

for her profound learning and intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures, for she is said to have committed the whole Bible to memory. She is described as of great beauty, but exceedingly humble and of such zeal and fervor of spirit that she was a valuable auxiliary to St. Boniface in the conversion of the warlike German nation. The most noted figure in the Irish Church after St. Patrick was undoubtedly the nun St. Bridget, and she must, to quote the renowned Celtic scholar, Dr. Douglas Hyde, have attained her preëminence by "sheer ability and intellectuality." It is recorded that when St. Bridget decided to embrace the religious life she retired to a lonely part of her father's territory and founded a little oratory near an oak tree, whence the name Kildare, from "cill-dara," the "church of the oak." The small oratory under the shadow of the branching oak soon grew into a mighty institution, and two considerable establishments grew up, one for women and one for men. Long before St. Bridget's death, about 525, a regular city and a great school had arisen around her oak tree.

The monks and scholars at Kildare seem to have given much attention to decorative art and produced most beautiful results in chalices, shrines, bells and various other articles. The transcriptions and illumination of manuscripts were also carried on at Kildare. The abbess took great delight in this work and employed many scribes, superintending their labors herself. One of the books thus transcribed and decorated, "The Four Gospels," was preserved at Kildare as its greatest treasure for hundreds of years. St. Bridget wrote several treatises on the "Ascetic Life," a "Rule" for her nuns, a "Letter to St. Aidan" dissuading him from traveling, and the treatise "Quiver of Divine Love." Three of these compositions were known to be in existence as late as 1647. A poem written in Irish and ascribed to St. Bridget is said to have been extant until very recently.

Germany was also rich in the possession of learned religious women, and one of the most celebrated was Hrotswitha, the "White Rose of Gandersheim," who occupies a notable position in the history of European literature. Gandersheim was a Benedictine monastery, and only ladies of German birth were privileged to become inmates. Its school was famous and "the course of study included Latin, Greek, the philosophy of Aristotle and the liberal arts." One of its abbesses won fame in her day as a logician, and her treatise on logic was highly thought of by her contemporaries. It is the nun Hrotswitha, however, who conferred on the convent its greatest celebrity, for she was the first German poetess and the first dramatist since the Roman epoch. Hrotswitha, born in 940, was educated at the convent school of Gandersheim and entered the

convent itself as a nun some years after. She was an industrious writer and left behind her a number of poems and dramas which have excited the wonder and admiration of students of literature for generations. The poems, eight in number, deal with various religious subjects, some being taken from the life of our Lord and others from the legends of the saints. Her "Carmen de Gestes Oddonis" was an epic following somewhat the great Roman model. When finished, Hrotswitha presented it to the old Emperor and his son Otho II. About one-half of this life of Otho the Great is still in existence.

Another important work of the versatile Hrotswitha was a poem in hexameters narrating the story of the beginning of her own convent and its history up to the year 919. It is on her plays, however, that her fame as an author rests. They were, evidently, to quote a writer on German literature, "devised on the simple plan that the world, the flesh and the devil should not have all the good plays to themselves." It has been said that "these plays form the visible bridge between the few earlier attempts to utilize the classical drama forms for Christian purposes and the miracle plays," and, again, "they are undoubtedly the production of genius and have not missed the usual tribute of the supposition that Shakespeare borrowed from the writings of the "Nun of Gandersheim." The plays are founded on sacred legends, one being that of Theophilus, the mediævel Faust. It is considered of the first importance that Hrotswitha gave these legends the dramatic form as in a similar manner Shakespeare dramatized tales. The dramas are seven in number and are in the style of Terence and are said to "afford incidental evidence of her perfect familiarity with the sciences of music, astronomy and dialects as then taught in the schools." The plays are short, abound in rapid action, constant change of scene and lively dialogue. The speeches are never dull, too long and the piety never dull or wearisome. All critics seem to be practically unanimous in thus characterizing these unique compositions, and it is noted that "many varieties of the latter drama were foreshadowed in her work."

"Gallicanus," for instance, is an historical tragedy in two parts, in which the contrast is shown in a striking manner between a Christian and a heathen emperor, the respective rulers being Constantine and Julian the Apostate. In "Dulcitus" are seen many of the elements of the modern comedy. "Abraham" is the precursor of the modern sentimental drama. "Callimachus" is an example of a love tragedy with a curious likeness in some portions to "Romeo and Juliet." These lively little plays were written to supplant the plays of Terence and to enforce the duty of purity

of life, which Terence made so light of, and are essentially the "drama with a purpose." With all her genius and scholarly attainments the "Nun of Gandersheim" was unaffectedly humble and unassuming, ascribing her gifts to the goodness of God and taking the lesson to heart that the more God gives so much the more should He be loved and adored.

Her first book of "Poems" was thus prefaced: "Here is a little book, simple in style, though it has cost the writer no small trouble and application. I offer it to the criticism of those kind judges who are disposed rather to put an amateur right than to find fault with him. For I willingly acknowledge that it contains many errors as well against the rules of composition as those of prosody; but methinks one who frankly confesses her defects merits to meet with a ready pardon and a friendly correction." Hrotswitha then ingenuously continues: "It has been alone and unaided that I have produced **my little work, in my rustic** solitude far from the help of the learned, by dint of repeated composition and corrections." Then after paying a loyal tribute to the Abbesses Richardis and Gerberga, who had been her instructors, she concludes by saying: "Although the art of making verse is difficult, especially for a woman, I have ventured, trusting to the Divine aid, to treat the subjects of this book in heroic verse. My only object in this labor has been to prevent the **feeble talent committed** to my care from growing rusty." In the epistle prefixed to her prose writings Hrotswitha acknowledges the praises showered on her by the learned with unaffected simplicity. "I cannot sufficiently wonder," she says, "that you who are so well versed in philosophy should judge the humble work of a simple woman worthy of your commendation. But when in your charity you congratulate me it is the Dispenser of that grace which works in me that you praise;" and again: "I rejoice from my heart to see God and His grace praised in me, but I fear lest men should think me greater than I am, for left to my own strength I should know nothing." The White Rose of Gandersheim wrote in the Latin of the tenth century, and it was not until the beginning of the twelfth that the name of the Nun Ava stands out as that of the first woman to write verse in German. Three religious poems are ascribed to her in which she describes the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost communicated to men, the appearance of Antichrist at the end of the world and the Last Judgment.

In this same twelfth century the Abbess Hervada wrote an "Encyclopedia," certainly a most comprehensive piece of scholarship. Also during this period flourished St. Hildegard, a nun who

was of great importance in the history of mediæval mysticism. St. Hildegard was a friend of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and exerted a powerful influence over her contemporaries by her piety, her learning and her intimate knowledge of public affairs. Among her correspondents were Popes and emperors, who sought her wise counsel. She was a voluminous writer, "Letters and Exhortations," "Exposition of the Rule of St. Benedict," "Lives of Various Saints" and "Expositions or Explanations of the Athanasian Creed" being some of her best known works.

There is a long array of scholar nuns to be noted, like Ebba of Coldringham, learned and saintly; Walburga, niece of St. Boniface; Heldelida of Barking; St. Frideswida, foundress of the monastery which in later times developed into Christ Church, Oxford, and Radegunde, queen and saint, who was not only learned herself, but the patron of learning in others and the friend of that Fortunatus who composed the hymn "Vexilla Regis," still sung in the Church. Queens and women of noble birth were found in the cloister in England, in Spain, in Scotland, in Sweden, where Bridget the Princess founded in 1344 the Order of Brigittines and wrote her "Revelations," known and admired by those aspiring to perfection in the spiritual life; in France, where Agnes d'Harcourts was abbess of the celebrated Convent of Longchamps, founded in 1261 by Isabella, sister of Louis IX., saint and king. Agnes was made abbess in 1263, and before her death in 1291 had contributed to the literature of France her "Life of Isabella," written with such charming simplicity of style that it was considered one of the most valuable works of early French writers. The Abbey of Longchamps up to the time of the Revolution of 1789 possessed the original manuscript of this "Life," written, possibly by Agnes herself, with the greatest care on a roll of vellum.

Italy, of course, was rich in scholar nuns, and perhaps the most celebrated, the best known of all these learned and pious cloistered women of the Middle Ages, was St. Catharine of Siena, who lived in the last half of the fourteenth century. Born in 1347 and taking the habit of a nun in 1366, she was distinguished above all the women of her time for her austerities, fervent charity and devotion. The literary work of St. Catharine is comprised in her "Letters" and her "Revelations." The "Letters" were addressed to Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, kings, princes, political bodies, corporations and private individuals, for she was so renowned for her wisdom and extraordinary piety that there were few public affairs of importance that did not engage the attention of this devout and humble nun. The history of the time could almost be written

from her letters, dealing as they did with the great historical events of her day, and which show so plainly that she had a marked and salutary influence on public questions. Thus she was mainly instrumental in inducing Pope Gregory XI. to return to Rome and reëstablish the Pontifical See in that city after its seventy years' sojourn in Avignon. During the pestilence of 1374 her efforts to alleviate the sufferings of the plague-smitten people were unceasing. Called upon to reconcile enemies, to bring peace to warring factions, to exhort sinners to repentance, St. Catharine never hesitated, never faltered in the work she was set to perform.

The account of her visions, her spiritual communings, her "Revelations" was written down by her biographer, Blessed Raymond of Capua. Her printed works are a "Treatise on Providence" six treatises in form of a "Dialogue," "A Discourse on the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin," and some three hundred and sixty-four "Letters." Much has been written concerning the works of St. Catharine in their purely literary aspect, and from the vast volume of criticism a few extracts may be made to show the esteem in which they are held. "This mass of writing has for several centuries enjoyed a high reputation, and of the praise bestowed by Italian critics much refers to the style and diction." Another writes especially concerning the "Letters" and "Treatises:" "Written at a time when the language fresh from the hands of Dante, of Petrarch and of Boccaccio was still in its infancy, and in a city at all times celebrated for the purity of its vernacular, they have by common consent of Italian scholars taken rank as one of the acknowledged classics of the language." The philological excellence of St. Catharine's writings, however, is the least part of the praise bestowed upon her as an author. Her moving eloquence, exalted piety, noble sentiments and sound argumentation all come in for their due meed of praise.

In the search for definite data concerning the religious scholars of the Middle Ages it has been interesting to notice the high position held by women and the important fact that a woman was not considered incapable by reason of sex of exercising authority over great institutions made up of both men and women. For a number of centuries the rule held sway that in double communities the abbess, as at Kildare and Whitby, or the canoness, as at Fonteraud, was the superior. In Burton's "History of Scotland," in a paragraph treating of the Irish system of Church government, it is stated: "Women had great influence among them. There was in that peculiar Church a dignitary called a co-arb. It is difficult to assign his place . . . but it is clear, however, that the

co-arb was a greater person than a Bishop, and some of the co-arbs were women. In Kildare the co-arb was always a woman."

This custom evidently lasted for centuries, especially in some of the Benedictine foundations and in communities under the rule of the Brigittines. The canoness of Fonteraud was superior general of both communities, and Fonteraud was one of the most important of French convents. Founded in 1100, to it were princesses of the blood royal sent to be educated, and it was in existence up to the time of the French Revolution. Accounts agree with great unanimity as to the wise and capable management of these double communities governed by women, which, though united under one head, yet maintained a strictly exclusive separate existence. In looking back to those far-off times, when the sword was in daily use and might made right, it is cheering to note that the progress that came slowly but surely was due in great measure to the loving, unselfish and enlightened scholar nuns of the Middle Ages.

JANE CAMPBELL.

THE TESTIMONY OF JOSEPHUS TO THE HISTORIC REALITY OF CHRIST.

THE futile attempts of Drews, Smith and a few other writers on Christian origins to relegate the personality of Christ to the airy region of myth have revived interest in the early Christian evidences drawn from non-Christian sources. Of these the best known, if not the most important, is the testimony of Josephus.

Flavius Josephus was born in Jerusalem, in the year 37 A. D. He lived till after the close of the century, the exact date of his death being unknown. He belonged to one of the first priestly families of the nation. He was carefully instructed after the Jewish fashion of the day, and became conspicuous for his knowledge of Jewish history and of Jewish law. In his early youth he made trial of the three chief sects among his people, and having gone even so far as to live for months in the desert, under the spiritual direction of a Jewish hermit, he cast his lot with the Pharisees. In the year 63 he went to Rome to secure the release of some friends, who on slight pretext had been thrown in prison, and whom Felix, very likely at the time he held St. Paul in bonds, had sent to Rome to plead their cause before Cæsar. On the way he narrowly escaped death by shipwreck. Having succeeded in his errand, in large part through the friendly influence of the Empress Poppæa, he returned to Jerusalem, where he exercised with distinction the office of priest. He seems to have been a prominent member of the Sanhedrin. Not long afterwards the beginnings of the disastrous revolt against Rome made themselves felt in Judea and Galilee. Josephus was deputed by the Sanhedrin to repair to the latter country and to try to pacify the rebellious factions. Finding his efforts vain, he allowed himself to be carried along by the popular movement, and accepted the office of commander of the Galilean forces.

The invasion of the country by the Roman army soon followed. At the head of several thousand soldiers, Josephus took refuge in the fortified village of Jotapata, and there withstood a siege of forty-seven days. When it succumbed to the repeated assaults of the Romans, he was taken from his place of hiding and brought before Vespasian. The Roman general and his son, Titus, were placated by his address and polished manners, and were led to treat him with a leniency rarely shown in those days to a vanquished foe. After a period of easy captivity, he was released from

his chains and became their companion and interpreter. In this capacity he was a witness of the terrible siege and destruction of his native city. When the war was ended he went to Rome with the victors and there lived in comfort for the rest of his days. Vespasian made him a Roman citizen, gave him a yearly pension and placed at his disposal an apartment in the house he had occupied before he was raised to the throne.

Josephus did not apostatize from the religion of his fathers. He remained in sympathy a Jew. In his works he is ever ready to vindicate Jewish rites and Jewish customs. But at the same time he did not scruple to associate with Gentiles in a way that no strict Jew could tolerate, and he managed to win and preserve the friendship of the rich and powerful in Rome. It was doubtless owing to this fondness for the conquerors of his nation that the great run of the Jews hated him as a renegade.

Besides his autobiography and his defense of the Jews against the aspersions of Apion, two great historical works have come from his pen. One of these, the "History of the Jewish War," composed in 78 A. D., was dedicated to his benefactors, Vespasian and Titus. They highly praised its accuracy, as did also Herod and Agrippa II. In the year 93 or 94 he published his greatest work, the "Jewish Antiquities," in which he set forth an apologetic history of the Jewish people and the Jewish religion from the beginning down to the year 66 A. D.¹ It was highly esteemed by the Romans, for whom it was especially written.

Josephus was thus a contemporary of the Apostles in their later years and of the younger generation that succeeded them. Living in Jerusalem and educated as a Jewish priest, he must have become thoroughly acquainted with the ever-growing sect of the hated Christians and with the main outlines of the public life of Christ. He doubtless knew personally members of the Sanhedrin that condemned Christ. In the eighteenth book of his "Antiquities" he speaks sympathetically of John the Baptist, and states that his cruel death under Herod was thought by some to have been divinely avenged through the defeat of the king's army in his war with Aretas, whose daughter Herod had married and basely repudiated in favor of Herodias. (B. XVIII., ch. v., no. 2.) In the twentieth book he tells how the insolent high priest Ananus, to the grief and indignation of the better class of citizens, caused to be put to death "James, the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ." (B. XX., ch. xix., no 1.)¹ Hence there is little room for doubt that Josephus was acquainted with the main features of the

¹ Josephus was living in Jerusalem when this event took place, 61 A. D.

story of Christ and with the chief events that followed upon his death.

Now, in the eighteenth book of the "Antiquities" is a paragraph that sums up briefly the story of Christ. (B. XVIII., ch. cxxxi., no. 3.) Eusebius, in his "Church History," book the first, chapter the eleventh, cites it word for word, along with Josephus' account of St. John the Baptist. It runs as follows: "And there lived at that time Jesus, a wise man, if indeed it be proper to call Him a man; for He was a doer of extraordinary works, and a teacher of such men as are eager to accept what is true. And He drew to Himself many of the Jews and many also of the Greek nation. He was the Christ. When Pilate, on the accusation of the leading men among us, condemned Him to the Cross, those who first came to love Him did not fall away; for He appeared to them alive again on the third day, the divine prophets having told these and a thousand (literally ten thousand) other marvelous things about Him. Even till now the tribe of Christians named after Him has not come to an end." Eusebius deemed this testimony sufficiently important to insert it also in his "Demonstratio Evangelica" ("Proof of the Christian Religion"), book the third, chapter the fifth.

Three different views have been taken of this interesting passage, one that it is genuine, another that it is a forgery, and the third that it is partly genuine, the original having been retouched by an unknown Christian hand.

The view that it is genuine prevailed from the time of Eusebius down to the sixteenth century. A few generations ago it had the approval of many scholars, among whom may be mentioned C. Böhmer,² J. Danko,³ J. Langen⁴ and F. Hettinger.⁵ In recent times, too, it has found able defenders, though their number has been growing less. The chief argument in its favor are that the passage is found in all existing manuscripts of the "Antiquities" and that it was held to be genuine by Eusebius, Sozomen, Rufinus, Jerome and other ancient scholars.⁶

The argument based on the manuscripts is not so strong as it appears at first sight, for none of them is older than the ninth, possibly the eleventh century. The passage is also found in two Latin translations, one of the sixth century, the production of which

² "Über des Flavius," *Josephus Zeugniß von Christo*, 1823.

³ "Historia Revelationis Divinae Novi Testamenti," 1867, I., pp. 308ff.

⁴ "Der Theologische Standpunkt des Flavius Josephus," *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift*, XLVII., pp. 51ff.

⁵ "Lehrbuch der Fundamental-Theologie," 1888, pp. 301ff.

⁶ The other arguments, which this view has in common with the third view, will be considered further on.

is partly due to Cassiodorus, the other of the latter part of the fourth century, wrongly ascribed in former times to Hegesippus. Thus the earliest indication of the existence of the passage is to be found not in these manuscripts or translations, but in the writings of Eusebius.

What tells most strongly in favor of the genuineness of the passage is that Eusebius took it to be part of the original text of "Antiquities." But this argument, weighty though it be, is not decisive. Against its genuineness is the weightier fact that before Eusebius we do not find a single ecclesiastical writer making use of it, the citation of which might have been made with advantage by the Christian apologist. The natural inference is that the passage, at least in the form cited by Eusebius, did not exist at that early period. The attempts to explain away this serious difficulty fall short of the mark. We are told, for instance, that the earlier apologists, being so near to apostolic times, made light of testimony coming from Jewish sources.⁷ The statement is beyond control, and were it true it would not account for Origen's failure to quote the passage. Another answer, more commonly given, is that the contempt in which Josephus was held by his countrymen did not warrant its use by the Christian apologist. To cite the words of a recent writer: "It is true that neither Tertullian nor St. Justin makes use of Josephus' passage concerning Jesus, but this silence is probably due to the contempt with which the contemporary Jews regarded Josephus and to the relatively little authority he had among Roman readers."⁸ Josephus was, indeed, despised by the Jews for his friendship with the hated Romans, but his authority as an historian seems to have been recognized both by Jews and by Romans. If we may trust Eusebius, "he was the most noted of all the Jews of that day, not only among his own people, but also among the Romans, so that he was honored by the erection of a statue in Rome, and his works were deemed worthy of a place in the library."⁹ His authority as a writer seems to have been greatly respected by Christians also, if we may judge from the use of his writings made by Eusebius and Origen.

The way in which Origen speaks of Josephus' attitude towards Christ makes it extremely difficult to hold that the passage as cited by Eusebius formed part of the original text of the "Antiquities." In his work "Against Celsus" (I., 47), he points out

⁷ Hettinger, loc. cit.

⁸ A. J. Maas, S. J., art. "Jesus Christ," in the Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. VIII., p. 376.

⁹ "Ch. Hist.," III., ix., 2. Eusebius here alludes to the imperial library founded by Augustus and enriched by his successors.

that Josephus spoke with sympathy of John the Baptist and of James the Just, but that, not believing in the Messiahship of Jesus, he failed to attribute to their true cause the calamities that befell the Jews after they had basely put Christ to death. His words are: "I would like to say to Celsus, who represents the Jew as accepting somehow John as a baptist who preached Jesus, that the existence of John the Baptist, baptizing for the remission of sins, is related by one who lived no great length of time after John and Jesus. For in the eighteenth book of his "Antiquities of the Jews" Josephus bears witness to John as having been a baptist and as promising purification to those who underwent the rite. Now, this writer, although not believing in Jesus as the Christ, in seeking after the cause of the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple, whereas he ought to have said that the conspiracy against Jesus was the cause of these calamities befalling the people, since they put to death Christ, who was a prophet, says, nevertheless, being although against his will not far from the truth, that these disasters happened to the Jews as a punishment for the death of James the Just, who was a brother of Jesus called the Christ, the Jews having put him to death, although he was a man distinguished for his justice."¹⁰

In his "Commentary on Matthew" (XIII., 55) he has a similar passage, in which Josephus' disbelief in Christ is expressed in the words "Not acknowledging our Jesus to be Christ."¹¹

¹⁰ "Ante-Nicene Fathers," New York, 1890; Vol. IV., p. 416.

¹¹ Like Origen, Eusebius says of Josephus that the fall of Jerusalem was declared to be a divine punishment for the slaying of James. ("Church Hist., II., xxiii., 19-20.) According to the extant manuscripts, Josephus says nothing of the kind. Some think that the text of the "Antiquities," as known to Origen and Eusebius, must have had a sentence to justify their assertion. Against this view there are two objections. First of all, it is very unlikely that Josephus would attribute to the wrongdoing of an individual high priest, acting against the better judgment of the citizens of Jerusalem, a consequence so disproportionate as the downfall of the nation. Secondly, the only section of the "Antiquities" where a statement of this kind would be in place is that which treats of the death of James. Now, this section is quoted by Eusebius in the chapter just mentioned, and it agrees with the corresponding portion of the text now existing. It is possible that Eusebius was led into error by what he read in Origen, for whose authority he had great respect. How, then, shall we explain Origen's mistake? In his account of the death of John the Baptist, Josephus states that some of the Jews saw in the defeat of Herod's army at the hands of Aretas a divine retribution for his execution of John. May not Origen writing from memory, have been under the impression that it was James' death that was said to have been divinely punished, and so identified this retribution with the fall of Jerusalem? At any rate, this very discrepancy, which a forger would have been careful to avoid, does but tell in favor of the genuineness of the passage in the works of Origen.

Now, had the passage on Christ as cited by Eusebius been known to Origen, would he have made the statement that Josephus did not believe in Jesus as the Christ? Would he have elsewhere repeated the statement in slightly different words? On the contrary, would he not have been keen to call attention to the striking, if reluctant admission, couched in the language of a believer, that Jesus was the Christ foretold by the prophets, working miracles and rising from the dead? Could he have wished for better testimony to refute Celsus, who denied these things?

One of the most recent defenders of the genuineness of the passage, Professor Emery Barnes, seeks to explain this attitude of Origen by reading into the words of Josephus a meaning quite different from the obvious one that has hitherto been taken.¹² According to his opinion, the passage was not quoted before the time of Eusebius because it did not convey to the Greek reader the admission that Jesus was the Messiah who rose from the dead. "May we not say, then," he writes, "that Eusebius, as one who spoke the language which Josephus wrote, recognized better than many modern scholars how guarded are the terms in which the controverted passage speaks of our Lord? . . . Why should not Origen, a greater critic than Eusebius, have discerned no less than Eusebius the true significance of the cautious phrases of Josephus? Both fathers were Greeks in language and both were likely to be good judges of the meaning of the Jewish historian."¹³

Positive evidence is lacking to show that Origen and Eusebius shared this view of Professor Barnes. His attempt to enlist Eusebius on his side will hardly convince many of his readers. The unlikelihood of this view is amply set forth by the impression which the passage of Josephus made on the historian Sozomen, who, like Origen and Eusebius, spoke Greek, wrote Greek and knew thoroughly the exact meaning of Greek expressions. In his "Church History," book the first, chapter the first, he says: "Josephus, the son of Matthias, who was also a priest and most distinguished among the Jews and Romans, may be regarded as a noteworthy witness to the truth concerning Christ, for he hesitates to call Him a man, since He wrought marvelous works and was a teacher of truthful doctrines, but openly calls Him Christ; that He was condemned to the death of the Cross and appeared alive again on the third day. Nor was Josephus ignorant of numberless other won-

¹² "The Testimony of Josephus to Jesus Christ," *Contemporary Review*, January, 1914, p. 57ff. While the purport of this article is, in my opinion, untenable, it contains a number of keen observations showing that the chief portions of the text, at least, are in all likelihood genuine.

¹³ Loc. cit., p. 64.

derful predictions uttered beforehand by the holy prophets concerning Christ. He further testifies that Christ brought over many to Himself, both Greeks and Jews, who continued to love Him, and that the people named after Him had not become extinct. It appears to me that in narrating these things he all but proclaims that Christ, by comparison of works, is God. As if struck by the miracle, he ran a somewhat middle course, assailing in no way those who believed in Jesus, but rather agreeing with them.¹⁴

There is little doubt, then, as to the meaning of the passage. But this very point raises one of the most serious difficulties against its genuineness. Its language is the language of a reverent Christian rather than that of a prejudiced, time-serving Jew, anxious to set forth the story of his people in as creditable a light as possible, but at the same time bent on securing favor with the polite society of Rome.¹⁵ Is it at all likely that he would have spoken so sympathetically of Christ at a time when the Christians were the objects of contempt, hatred and persecution? Would a Jew of his stamp have declared that Jesus was the Christ, a teacher of truth, a worker of miracles, who in fulfillment of divine prophecy rose from the dead? And this at a time when Tacitus, his distinguished contemporary and acquaintance, was labeling the religion of Christ a pernicious superstition, *exitiabilis superstitio*?¹⁶

These considerations, which tell so strongly against the genuineness of the passage in its present form, and to which a satisfactory explanation has not been given, are strongly emphasized by those who view the whole passage as spurious. The advocates of this view, among whom are many eminent scholars, such as E. Schürer,¹⁷ A. McGiffert,¹⁸ P. Batiffol,¹⁹ B. Niese,²⁰ L. Linck,²¹ allege other reasons as well, that it betrays a language not distinctly Josephan, and that in its setting it has the appearance of a clumsy insertion into the previously completed text.

The latter objection—the interruption which the passage causes

¹⁴ "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers," second series, Vol. II., p. 239.

¹⁵ A keen critic has said of Josephus: "Son erreur fondamental. . . . c'est une préoccupation excessive d'être sempris et admiré des lecteurs grecs et romains." Lagrane: "Le Messiaïsme chez les Juifs, 1909, p. 2.

¹⁶ Some scholars, as G. A. Müller: "Christus bei Josephus," are of the opinion that Tacitus got his information about Christ from Josephus.

¹⁷ "History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ," 1890, div. I. Vol. II., pp. 143-149.

¹⁸ "Church History of Eusebius," New York, 1890, p. 98, note 11, Vol. I. of "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers," second series.

¹⁹ "Orpheus et l'Evangile," 1910, pp. 13ff.

²⁰ "De Testimonio Christiano quod est apud Josephum Antiq. Iud.," XVIII., 63 sq., "Disputatio" (Leçonsverzeichniss der Marburger Akademie, 1893).

²¹ "De Antiquissimis Veterum quae ad Jesum Nazarenum Spectant Testimoniis," 1913, cap. I.

in the flow of the narrative—is held by not a few to be one of the strongest proofs of alien authorship. The Abbé Batiffol lays great stress on it,²² and so does Professor McGiffert.²³ The latter points to “the decided break which the passage makes in the context. Section 2 gives the account of a sedition of the Jews, and section 4 opens with the words, ‘About the same time also another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder;’ while section 3, containing the account of Christ, gives no hint of sedition or disorder among the Jews.”²⁴

Granted that the account of Christ gives no hint of sedition among the Jews, may not, all the same, the very establishment of the Christian religion have been viewed by Josephus as one of the calamities that befell the Jewish people? That it was so held by many Jews of that time is beyond question. It is true that the passage in its present form fails to convey this impression. But its sinister import is easily implied when, according to the view which we shall soon examine, it is stripped of its probable Christian glosses and restored to its original wording. Thus viewed it ceases to have the appearance of being a later insertion thrust by force into the text. And then does not the story of Christ, digression though it be, have a certain right to be here, for the further reason that, like what immediately precedes, it involves the name of Pilate, by whose authority the sedition in Jerusalem was put down, and somewhat later Jesus was crucified? The passage, then, in its emended form, cannot fairly be thrust out as an intruder. Moreover, the critics who reject it on the score of its being an interruption of the narrative seem to overlook the fact that what immediately follows, the story of the scandal perpetrated in the temple of Isis in Rome, likewise intervenes to disconnect the account of the Jewish disturbances in Jerusalem, mentioned in section 2, from the story told in section 4, of the rascality that led to the expulsion of the Jews from Rome. Now, of these two digressions the story of Christ has by far the better right to its place in the text, for the disgraceful deed in the Isis temple involved Romans, not Jews, and hence has absolutely nothing to do with the history of the Jewish people. It is safe to say that if Josephus could put in his narrative of Jewish calamities the absolutely irrelevant story of the Isis temple scandal he could have admitted the far more appropriate story of Christ. One may ask, besides, if Josephus did have in mind to tell in a few words what he knew of Jesus, where better could he have told it?

²² “*Orpheus et l'Evangile*,” 1910, p. 19.

²³ Link argues in like manner, *op. cit.* pp. 17-18.

²⁴ *Loc. cit.*

But this is not all. If the story of Christ be wholly removed from the text, the faulty digression on the temple scandal stands out as a stupid blunder, of which Josephus would hardly be capable. His was too keen a mind not to recognize its irrelevancy. Why, then, did he make use of it? The only explanation forthcoming is one that postulates the story of Christ, in a less favorable form, as part of the original text. To use the words of Edersheim, "It has been suggested by Paret that it was intended by him as one of those vile anti-Christian insinuations about Christ, too common in that age, made in a manner which, without breach of charity, may be designated as peculiarly Josephan."²⁵ For this reason, Niese, who, in his edition of Josephus' works, brackets the paragraph on Christ and leaves untouched that on the crime in the Isis temple, lays himself open to criticism.

There is another difficulty that the forgery view encounters, one, moreover, that seems to be largely overlooked. This is the positive statement of Origen, recorded in two widely different works, that Josephus did not admit Jesus to be the Messiah. Now, if the passage in question be rejected as an out-and-out forgery, there is no place left to serve as an adequate ground for Origen's statement. It might, of course, be said that Origen based his assertion on the fact that Josephus lived and died a Jew. This is, indeed, possible, but in view of the emphasis which he lays on the statement, thinking it worth while to tell it a second time, there is a much greater likelihood that he had in mind a definite passage from the pen of Josephus.

Some scholars think that Origen based his statement on the phrase which Josephus applies to James, "the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ." This view is favored by one of the latest writers on the testimony of Josephus, Kurt Linck.²⁶ But a like phrase is found in Matt. i., 16, "Jesus, who is called Christ." Hence it cannot be called a decided expression of unbelief.

Others try to dispose of the difficulty by declaring the statement in Origen's works to be spurious, a method only too common nowadays of getting rid of embarrassing evidence. To this class belong the advocates of the Christ-myth theory. In the present instance the attempt utterly fails. In the first place, no forger, seeking to bolster up the testimony of Josephus to Christ, would have put in Origen's writings a statement that hinders rather than helps. Again, the statement is incidental to what Origen says of Josephus' account of James, in which account, as has been pointed out, is a discrepancy that a forger would have been careful to avoid. Moreover,

²⁵ Art. "Josephus," Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.*, III, p. 459.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

the passage containing the statement is found, not only in the work "Against Celsus,"²⁷ but also in the "Commentary on Matthew." If a forger put the statement in the former work, why should he have gone out of his way to insert it also in the latter? Some advocates of the forgery view feel compelled to reject as spurious all that bears on the testimony of Josephus to Christ. His account of John the Baptist, which has every mark of genuineness, is pronounced an interpolation; so likewise his account of James, the Lord's brother. Then, as a necessary consequence, they cast aside the two corresponding passages in which Origen mentions these testimonies of Josephus, and in which is also found his statement that the Jewish historian did not acknowledge Jesus to be the Christ. Such a wholesale elimination of texts may well be viewed with suspicion.

The objections which tell so strongly against the two views we have thus far considered are satisfactorily met by the third view, to which we now turn, the view, namely, that the passage in question is partly genuine and partly spurious. The advocates of this view command respect both by their number and by their learning. Among them are G. A. Müller,²⁸ A. Gutschmid,²⁹ H. Ewald,³⁰ A. Edersheim,³¹ T. Reinach,³² P. Schaff.³³ They may be divided into two groups, according as they hold the passage to be largely genuine or largely spurious. The view that it is largely spurious is open to the objection, well expressed by Professor McGiffert, that "after the obviously Christian passages are omitted there remains almost nothing; and it seems inconceivable that Josephus should have given so colorless a report of one whom the Jews regarded with such enmity, if he mentioned him at all." (*Loc. cit.*) This objection cannot be made against those who, like Ewald, Reinach and Renan, hold that the passage is in large part genuine, but so altered as to present the Christian, instead of the Jewish point of view. Renan, who cannot be suspected of undue leaning towards Christianity, says: "I believe the passage on Jesus is authentic as a whole. It is in perfect keeping with the taste of Josephus. If the historian mentioned Jesus, he must have spoken of Him in this way. Only

²⁷ The same words are to be found in two places in this work of Origen, I. 13, and II. 47.

²⁸ "Christus bei Josephus Flavius," 1895.

²⁹ "Vorlesungen über Josephos' Bücher gegen Apion" (Kleine Schriften, herausgegeben von Franz Rühl, 1893, IV., pp. 352ff.

³⁰ "History of Israel," 1883, VI., pp. 138ff.

³¹ Art. "Josephus," Smith and Wace, Dict. of Christian Biography, III., pp. 458ff.

³² Art. "Josèphe sur Jésus" (Revue des Etudes juives, XXXV., pp. 1ff.

³³ "History of the Christian Church," I., pp. 92ff.

it would seem that a Christian hand has retouched the passage, adding a few words, without which it would have been almost blasphemous, and perhaps also omitting or modifying a few expressions."⁸⁴ What are the grounds on which this view is based?

It has already been stated that Josephus, in the twentieth book of his "Antiquities," tells how the high priest Ananus unjustly put to death "James, the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ." This casual reference to Jesus would lead one to surmise that the author had previously made Him known to his Roman readers.

We have also seen that in the eighteenth book of this same work Josephus relates the cruel death of John the Baptist. Now, if he thought it worth while to speak of these, does it not seem likely that he said a few words of the leading figure in the great Christian drama? The tragic mission of Christ, which so deeply stirred the Jewish people and which gave rise to a movement that made itself felt in every part of the Roman Empire, must have been an event which Josephus, like Tacitus, could not wholly overlook. The fact that it involved the name of Pontius Pilate would give the story additional interest for the cultured circles of Rome.

The probability that Josephus did write an account of Jesus is raised to a fair degree of certainty by the testimony of Origen, who, as we have seen, records what Josephus said of John the Baptist and of James, and states that Josephus did not acknowledge Jesus to be the Christ. He plainly has in mind some explicit assertion of Josephus. He could hardly have based his statement on the words, "Jesus who was called the Christ," for a like expression occurs in Matt. i., 16. There was, then, in the text of Josephus, as known to Origen, another passage where he spoke of Christ in terms already expressing his unbelief.

Now, the passage in the eighteenth book of the "Antiquities," with a very small number of changes, is just such a story as Josephus, in a few words, would have told of Christ. The main features of primitive Christianity are there—Jesus a man of wisdom, a worker of miracles, declaring Himself to be the Messiah, gathering about Him devoted disciples, brought before Pilate by the Jewish authorities and condemned to die on the Cross, then the preaching of the Apostles that Jesus had risen from the dead according to the Scriptures, the persistence of the Christian religion down to the present day.

There is nothing in all this that Josephus might not have put with perfect propriety in his "Antiquities of the Jews"; only, as one sharing to the full the bitter prejudices of his people against

⁸⁴ "Life of Jesus," New York, 1863, p. 5.

things Christian, he would have written from the Jewish, not the Christian point of view. Now if we make a very few changes in the text, necessitated, as there is good reason to think, because of marginal glosses made by some ancient Christian reader, we shall find that the passage thus corrected reflects the mind and exhibits the style of Josephus.

The opening sentence is one that betrays the retouching of the original by a Christian hand. "Now there lived at that time Jesus, a wise man, if it be proper to call Him a man, for He was a doer of extraordinary works, and a teacher of such men as are eager to accept what is true."

A Jew like Josephus would hardly have written the parenthetic clause hinting belief in the divinity of Jesus, nor would he have been apt to characterize the disciples of Jesus as lovers of truth, for we may lay it down as a certainty that Josephus wrote from the Jewish point of view. A priest of the sect of the Pharisees, he doubtless held Jesus to be a teacher of novelties rather than a teacher of the truth handed down from Moses. If, then, we omit the parenthetic clause and substitute for *alethe* (true) the adjective *kaina* (new)—as a number of scholars suggest—we have a sentence in thorough accord with the mind of Josephus. He would have felt no repugnance in calling *sophos* (wise) in the sense of clever, a very common meaning of the term. Like the Pharisees in the Gospel, he probably admitted Jesus to be a wonder-worker, but attributed His superior power to diabolical agency.³⁵ The emended text would thus run: "Now there lived at that time Jesus, a clever man, for He was a doer of extraordinary works, and a teacher of such men as eager to accept what is new."

"And He drew to Himself many of the Jews and many also of the Greek nation." Here the writer is not altogether correct. As every one knows, the immediate disciples of Jesus were all of Jewish origin. Only after His death were Greeks won over to His teaching. This inaccurate statement is one that might well have come from the pen of a non-Christian. It tells in favor, rather than in prejudice, of Josephan authorship.

"He was the Christ." This is the language not of an unbelieving Jew, but of a Christian, and hence could hardly have come from Josephus. As an admission of Jesus' Messiahship, no words could be plainer, none more to the point. Sozomen saw in the words this obvious meaning. To take them in the sense that Jesus was the historic personage who went by the name of Christ, as some

³⁵ It was in this way that Celsus accounted for the miracles of Jesus. Cf. Origen, "Contra Celsum," I., 58.

scholars have done, is a strained, unnatural interpretation.³⁶ It seems, then, far more likely that Josephus made some such statement as "pretending to be the Christ," to which the indignant Christian reader opposed the sentence, "This was the Christ." According to Matt. xxvii., 63, the Jews did not scruple to give Jesus the contemptuous epithet, seducer (deceiver). Josephus would doubtless be inclined to speak of Him in similar terms, and may well have written, "And He drew to Himself many of the Jews and many also of the Greek nation, pretending to be the Christ."

"When Pilate, on the accusation of the leading men amongst us, condemned Him to the Cross." Do not these words unmistakably bespeak the Jewish point of view and reflect the mind of Josephus? Jesus, accused by the Sanhedrin, "the leading men among us," is condemned by Pilate to the Cross. Not a word to suggest that His death was unmerited. On the contrary, the implication is, Jesus, being a false Christ, was rightly put to death.³⁷

"Those who first came to love Him did not fall away." This statement could be made by Josephus without implying sympathy for the Christian cause. The steadfast devotion of the disciples to Jesus was a fact that the Jews did not deny.

"For He appeared to them alive again on the third day, the divine prophets having told these and a thousand other marvelous things about Him." The admission, plainly expressed in these words, of Christ's resurrection and of numerous other miracles in fulfillment of divine prophecy is one of the last things we should expect of Josephus. What he wrote must have been from the Jewish point of view. He doubtless knew, from personal experience in Jerusalem, that this was what the disciples of Christ preached. But this preaching only served to excite his contempt and skepticism. And so he may well have written, "For they gave out that He appeared to them," etc., using the optative form of indirect discourse to imply his unbelief. The insertion of this single word makes all that follows thoroughly Josephan. Moreover, some such word seems to be called for by the context. The preceding statement that the disciples did not fall away after the death of Jesus leads one to expect that the following clause should refer to some act of theirs rather than to an act of Christ. The clause thus seems

³⁶ Professor Barnes, who denies that the sentence expresses belief in Jesus' Messiahship, tries to make out that to have this meaning it should read, "This is the Christ," as in Acts ix., 22. Loc. cit. p. 61. Were his contention true, the divinity of the Word would not be asserted in the opening sentence of St. John's Gospel, since the present tense is not used, "And the Word was God."

³⁷ "Not a word here to blame the Sanhedrin, nor to protest the innocence of the Lord." Professor Barnes, loc. cit., p. 61.

to be explanatory, not causal. Note, too, the thinly veiled touch of irony, as Professor Barnes points out, in the words, "a thousand other marvelous things."³⁸

"Even till now the tribe of Christians, named after Him, has not come to an end." Here again is a sentence with the true Josephan ring. A Christian writer would hardly have chosen the slyly contemptuous term, *tribe*; nor would he have contented himself with the indifferent statement that the tribe of Christians was not yet extinct. As Professor Barnes justly remarks, "It is again the observer from the outside who is speaking."³⁹

With these few emendations, the passage conforms strikingly to the viewpoint of Josephus. It is just such an account as he might have written. It is just such a form of the original text as is needed to explain Origen's assertion that Josephus did not admit Jesus to be the Christ. And note that the remarkably small number of changes needed to give the emended text its present Christian dress can be easily and naturally accounted for as marginal glosses made by some overzealous Christian, which, in the process of copying, became embodied in the text.

To make this more vivid, it may not be amiss to present the conjectural reading of the original with the probable glosses that were first put in the margin. The words affected are in italics.

if, indeed, it be proper
to call Him a man.

true

This was the Christ.

for He appeared

"And there lived at that time Jesus, a clever man, for He was a doer of extraordinary works and a teacher of such men as are eager to receive what is *new*. And He drew to Himself many of the Jews and many also of the Greek nation, *pretending* to be the Christ. When Pilate, on the accusation of the leading men among us, condemned Him to the Cross, those who first came to love Him did not fall away, for they *gave out that* He appeared to them alive again on the third day, the divine prophets having told these and a thousand other marvelous things about Him. Even till now the tribe of Christians, named after Him, has not come to an end."

It is worthy of note that in order to give a Christian turn to the

³⁸ Loc. cit., p. 62.

³⁹ Loc. cit., p. 63.

text as emended above all that is needed is to substitute one word for another and to strike out, in addition to one short phrase, three other words.

If the text, as here emended, conforms in its contents to the mind of Josephus, does its phraseology likewise agree with his manner of writing? This brings us to the objection made against the passage on the score of style.

Probably no recent writer has laid greater stress on this objection than Linck, in his opusculum already mentioned. A careful reading of his chapter on the Josephan testimony does but serve to call up two considerations that tell against his thesis, first, that the text, as emended above, contains a fair number of expressions that are decidedly characteristic of Josephus, and secondly, that the few words to which exception is taken are not such as to warrant the conclusion that they did not come from his pen. Linck, following in the footsteps of B. Niese,⁴⁰ is led to suspect certain words from the point of view that the passage never had any other than its present Christian form. Now, the moment the passage is stripped of its Christian dress and restored to the form it probably had in the beginning, these objections, in large part, fall away.

Take, for example, the word "poietes," which occurs in the opening sentence. As here used, it means a doer of extraordinary works. Linck notes that it has elsewhere in Josephus the meaning of poet, and approves Niese's rejection of the word on the ground that in the New Testament it is found in such expressions as doer of the word, doer of the work, not to mention numerous cases where the verb "poiein" is used with "erga," to do works.⁴¹ Both these critics seem to overlook the fact that the expression, to do works, is not peculiar to the New Testament. It is likewise found in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and hence might be used by a Jew as well as by a Christian. Linck himself admits that the expression is found at least once in Josephus. ("Antiquities," IX., 44, of Niese's edition.) It seems, then, hardly prudent to deny that "poietes ergon" is also from his pen. Gutschmid, in his critical study of the text, sees no good cause to reject it.⁴² Moreover, it is to be kept in mind that the Greek of the New Testament was the form of Greek current in the East in the first century, the very form with which Josephus was familiar. Hence it is not a just cause for suspicion if a word used in the New Testament in a

⁴⁰ "De Testimonio Christiano quod est apud Josephum Antiq. Iud.," XVIII., 63 sq. "Disputatio, Lectionsverzeichnis der Marburger Akademie," 1893.

⁴¹ Op. cit., p. 21.

⁴² Op. cit., p. 353.

sense not specifically Christian should be found, even though rarely, in Josephus.

This principle applies with special force to Linck's rejection of "didaskalos" (teacher), on the ground that in the New Testament it is often employed as an epithet of Christ. It was a term in common use in Josephus' day, and was frequently employed by him. Hence it should not be discarded here on the sole ground that Christ is called teacher in the Gospels, particularly as the emended phrase in which it occurs shows a point of view that is anything but Christian.

A similar mistake is made by Linck and others in rejecting the expression "hoi agapesantes" (those having loved), on the ground that the verb "agapan," generally has in the New Testament the specific meaning of love for God the Father and the Son.⁴³ Gutschmid also thinks the term too distinctively Christian to have been used by Josephus.⁴⁴ He suggests the substitution of the words, "those led astray by him." Th. Reinach, in his article, "Josephe sur Jésus, Rev. des Études Juives," xxxv., p. 12, inclines to Gutschmid's view. Even in the New Testament, the word "agapan" is sometimes used interchangeably with "philein" to signify pure love of friendship.⁴⁵ Hence it must have been in common use among the Greek-speaking contemporaries of Josephus. But more than this, the word, as Linck admits, far from being foreign to the vocabulary of Josephus, is employed in a number of places in the "Antiquities," not to mention his other writings. Thus in the eleventh chapter of the second book is found the sentence, "Jacob loved Joseph more than the rest of his sons," where the form "agapa" is used. The participial form may be found in book VI., chapter xi., and in book VII., chapter x.⁴⁶ If, then, Josephus could use the word elsewhere, he could surely have used it here.

Another word to which Linck strongly objects is the opening word of the passage. It is here used as the historical present, with the meaning "there flourished," "there lived," or as some prefer, "there appeared." The word is rejected by Linck, not on account of its form, which is common enough in Josephus, but for the alleged reason that it is not Josephus' custom to use either the present or the imperfect indicative with this meaning. He finds that "egeneto," which, by the way, is not "ginetai," is used in this sense in the Gospel of St. John, and thereby seems to imply that "ginetai" must have been written by a Christian hand. But, as

⁴³ Op. cit., pp. 27-28.

⁴⁴ Op. cit., p. 353.

⁴⁵ John xi.: 3, 5; xxi.: 15-16.

⁴⁶ Other places in which the verb is found are in Niese's edition, VIII., 198; XI., 339; XII., 166, 173; XIII., 289; XVIII., 245.

Linck himself admits, the verb in its participial form, with the same meaning as above, occurs at least four times in Josephus' work, "Against Apion."⁴⁷ Is it safe, then, to assert that in the present instance "ginetai" could not have come from his pen?

Both Niese and Linck reject the expression, "the leading men among us," on account of the use of the first person. Niese asserted that in the narrative proper Josephus always speaks of the Jews objectively, in the third person, never identifying himself with them so as to use the words we, us, our. Hence the expression was absolutely to be rejected.⁴⁸ This was a curious blunder for one to make who had carefully edited the works of Josephus; for as the Jesuit scholar, A. C. Kneller, has shown, Josephus does speak of the Jews in the first person, and that in many places.⁴⁹ One instance is to be found in the opening paragraph of the very chapter that contains the passage on Jesus, "the law forbidding us to make images." Linck tries to rescue Niese from his embarrassment, upholding the rejection of "par hemin" on the alleged ground that Josephus uses this expression and others of a similar kind only where the statement has reference to himself as well as to the Jews in general. According to this distinction, Josephus could not have written the phrase in question, since he was not a participant in the trial of Jesus.⁵⁰ His argument fails to convince. In the first place, the instances he adduces are too few to warrant the distinction he makes. Moreover, it is not borne out by such statements as "for it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the same time";⁵¹ "Solomon, who was the first of our kings" (XV., xi., 3); "our people were transported from their land into Babylon" (XI., i., 1). Josephus did not have many wives at the same time, nor was he a participant in either of the last two actions mentioned. If, then, he could write "our people were transported to Babylon," he could say, with equal propriety, "When Pilate, on the accusation of the leading men among us."

These are the chief instances brought forward to prove that the passage is not after the style of Josephus. That they are far from decisive has been amply shown. On the other hand, fairness demands that we take note of the several expressions which even

⁴⁷ Op. cit., pp. 19-20.

⁴⁸ This was his objection *par excellence* on the score of style. "Et haec omnia ut tolerari possint, prorsus tamen a Josephi more aliena sunt par hemin, pro quibus parsa Joudaios vel similia ponenda erant." Op. cit. p. 5.

⁴⁹ "Flavius Josephus über Jesus Christus" (Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, Vol. LIII., p. 15. For examples cf. XI., 1; XV., 50, 398; XVIII., 46, 55, 159, in Niese's edition).

⁵⁰ Op. cit., pp. 26-27.

⁵¹ "Antiquities," XVII., ch. 1, No. 2.

Linck admits to be in thorough agreement with Josephus' manner of writing. These, together with the traces already indicated of a non-Christian hand—traces ignored by Linck—tell strongly in favor of the genuineness of the passage in its emended form.

It would be going too far, of course, to insist that the text, as emended above, squares exactly with the original words of Josephus. It is at best but an approximation, but in all probability it represents substantially what Josephus put on parchment. This view that the passage is in great part from the pen of Josephus, but altered after the time of Origen by an unknown hand, altered, perhaps, intentionally, as we have seen, has far more to recommend it than the view that it is an out-and-out forgery. The difficulty, if it be rejected, to account for Origen's statements, the competence of Josephus to tell the story, the strong likelihood that he did speak of Christ, the several traces in the passage of a non-Christian hand, the distinctively Josephan flavor of the text in its emended form, the explanation of the important fact that no one before Eusebius quoted the passage—all this goes to make a cogent argument in its favor. Even the irrelevant story of the Isis temple scandal, otherwise inexplicable, has its significance when preceded by the unsympathetic account of Jesus which the Jewish historian seems to have written. In this form, lacking though it be in reverence, there is no loss of strength in the testimony of Josephus to the historical reality of Christ.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Washington, D. C.

DOGMATIC MAGISTERIUM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH
AND ITS PRETENDED DOGMATIC NOVELTIES.

IN HIS admirable treatise "On the Unity of the Church"¹ St. Cyprian outlines in a few words the nefarious work of "the enemy, who was detected and cast down by the advent of Christ." "That enemy," he writes, "has invented heresies and schisms whereby he might subvert the faith, might corrupt the truth, might divide unity. Those whom he cannot keep in the darkness of the old way he circumvents and deceives by the error of a new way. He snatches men from the Church itself, and while they seem to themselves to have already approached to the light and to have escaped the night of the world he embraces them again, in their unconsciousness, within new darkness, so that, although they do not stand firm with the Gospel of Christ and with the observation and law of Christ, they still call themselves Christians, and, walking in darkness, they think that they have the light, while the adversary is flattering and deceiving—that adversary who, according to the Apostle's word, transforms himself into an angel of light and equips his ministers as if they were the ministers of righteousness, who maintains night instead of day, death for salvation, despair under the offer of hope, perfidy under the pretext of faith, Antichrist under the name of Christ, so that, while they feign things like the truth, they make void the truth by their subtlety. This happens so long as we do not return to the source of truth, as we do not seek the head nor keep the teaching of the Heavenly Master."

We have, then, in the Catholic Church a perennial source of truth. This is Jesus Christ, our Lord, the heavenly arch "of every best gift and every perfect gift coming down from the Father of Lights. He has begotten us by the word of truth." (James i., 17-18.) The word of truth, that is, divine revelation, has been entrusted to the Church, "the incorrupted and pure Spouse, who cannot be adulterated, for she knows one home and guards with chaste modesty the sanctity of one couch."² The Catholic Church keeps the Word of Christ; still more, she puts on it a spiritual armor; she defends it against the assaults of its foes; she unfolds by her own industry the inexhaustible treasures of its contents; she pours forth over that heritage, to quote a beautiful comparison of St. Maximus the Confessor, her radiations like a candelabrum of massive gold.³ She is as a divine artist who by dint of an un-

¹ "De unitate Ecclesiæ," 3. P. L., IV., col. 497-498.

² *Ibid.*, 6, col. 502-503.

³ "Quæstio," LXIII., P. G. XC., 665.

ceasing labor moulds, in a more perfect manner, the varied aspects of unchangeable and inviolable truth bequeathed to her.

Yet the Church, although divine in origin, constitution and her inward life, performs her mission for men and among men. Therefore, in those matters which are not essentially connected with the word of divine truth she is affected very much in the same manner as other human efforts for the betterment of our moral and intellectual being. When we say that the Church satisfies the needs of passing generations and adapts herself to the spirit and tendencies of new epochs and environments her condescension refers only to that human element which inheres in her earthly life. It is precisely because the Church is kindled with a divine flame that she enjoys a fulness of life even in the order of nature. As her Divine Founder was "beautiful above the sons of men" (Psalms xliv., 3), because the eternal beauty of the divine being dwelt in His soul, so the Church, in spite of human vicissitudes, stands always beautiful and pure, as "the flower of the field and the lily of the valley." (Cant. ii., 1.)

She is endowed by the Christ with a marvelous ability to renew her youth. Her life runs parallel with the life of humanity. However different may be the social, political and intellectual conditions of peoples and nations, she finds at every stage of the world's history the proper message that fulfills the expectations of the Christian flock and seals the lips of her foes. Her simple attractiveness is never greater nor less, yet by her versatility, resourcefulness and tranquil forehandedness she gives ample evidence of her freedom from decay and rigidity.

While the Church emphasizes the fulness of life at all times and in all places, she does not create any impediment to the onward march of man towards better forms of life and organization. Why, then, in modern society has she become, like her Divine Founder, "a sign which shall be contradicted?" (Luke ii., 34.) The answer is obvious. Christ was crucified because He spoke to men as the Son of God, who requires the captivity of every understanding unto His obedience (II., Cor. x., 5); because by His moral teaching He asked for the crushing of the natural body, that a spiritual body could rise. (I. Cor. xv., 44.) Now, the Church by her doctrinal and ethical teaching requires from men the same sacrifice of the understanding and will, and consequently she is exposed, as was Christ, to the hatred of the wisdom of the flesh, which is an enemy to God. (Rom. viii., 7.) The whole strategy of those "wise in the flesh" in their onslaught against the Church of Christ

⁴ "Commonitorium," XX., 49, P. G. L., col. 666.

is aimed at the belittlement of the divine character of the truth which she unfolds to men in fulfillment of the redemptive mission of her Founder.

The Church claims to have inherited from Christ through His Apostles a body of doctrines which are in no way subject to human frailty nor error. Christian revelation, that is, this body of doctrines, is no ore, to be worked over by the Church and transformed to her liking into the varied products of human skill and industry. The mission of the Church confines itself to the custody of revealed truths. They are the first and immovable principles of a science which does not rest upon human foundation. They are the doctrinal pillars of Christian faith. "Other foundation no man can lay but that which is laid; which is Christ Jesus." (I. Cor. iii., 11.) If the Church attempted to shake off the foundations laid by Christ she would destroy herself, she would depart from her Divine Spouse, she would rend asunder the admirable unity and harmony by which she lives. She, the word of truth uttered by Christ and unalterable in itself, is kept in the Church without innovation.

The claim of the Church that she possesses unadulterated the teaching of Christ is opposed by the adversaries of Christian revelation. The Church is charged with having set the label of divine stability and origin upon the mere results of human speculation, or with having bargained away the pure gold of divine truth for the tinsel of human opinion. On the one side, the pride of reason protests against the historic fact of divine revelation and boldly proclaims that the dogmatic teaching of the Church is the product of the natural and purely human evolution of religious consciousness; on the other, the revolt against legitimate authority imputes to the *magisterium* of the Church the crime of impairing the essential features of the doctrinal heritage of our Lord and of raising to the dignity of dogmas theological opinions which have no other merit than that of fostering the human ambitions of the Papacy or hierarchy. Hence it follows that the dogmatic magisterium of the Catholic Church is accused of having committed forgeries as to the whole or as to a part of the deposit of divine revelation.

"The Catholic Church is the counterfeiter of the gold of evangelical truth"—this is the battle cry we hear from the lips of the champions of an unbridled rationalism, of a rebellious modernism, of a rigid orthodoxy. In the name of reason, rationalism clamors that the divine revelation is a myth, a chimera; all the dogmas of the Church are religious thoughts, begotten of human brains as well as of philosophical systems. The Church therefore deceives herself

and her followers by gracing them with the eternal stability of divine truth.

In the name of scientific loyalty, Modernism pretends that the dogmatic definitions of the Catholic Church are the spontaneous evolution, of some fundamental statements (*rationes seminantes*) given by Jesus Christ to His disciples. They spring up in the religious consciousness of Christianity, grow and finally die, like all human knowledge. They are the product of evolving human speculation, which gives them different meanings in accordance with the variable tendencies of human mind. The Church, therefore, is wrong in asserting their divine origin.

Lastly, according to the theologians of the Eastern Churches, the ecclesiastical elaboration of dogmatic formulæ and definitions came to a close in the ninth century. After that epoch all the attempts at dogmatic definition are sacrilegious. The Roman Church, therefore, in failing to cease working out dogmatic formulæ is guilty of altering and mishandling the deposit of divine revelation for the sake of her own selfish interests.

Before showing the groundlessness of the charge of unwarranted innovation it will be well to set forth more in detail the arguments which are advanced by the assailants of Catholic doctrine. Here let me observe that the apologist of the Catholic Church need never be afraid of expounding loyally and faithfully the objections and theories of his adversaries. The great glory of Cardinal Bellarmine as a controversialist with Protestantism consists precisely in his literary honesty. He gives full prominence to the objections of Protestant polemicists, however strong they may appear at first sight. To set forth in its minute details a system of negations, to quote with their own words the tenets and sophistries of the aggressors of Christian revelation, does not mean at all that their expounder subscribes to them or sympathizes with them. In his deeply rooted conviction of the divine truth of the Catholic doctrine he looks upon the erudite scaffolding of the foes of the Catholic Church as upon a building without a solid foundation. It is only by full and guileless exposition of the errors of our adversaries that we are able to show their inconsistency.

RATIONALISM.

First, the dogmatic teaching of the Catholic Church is branded as an historical forgery by Protestant rationalists. We say Protestants, for, as a matter of fact, rationalism is the offspring, the late intellectual phase of the Reformation. From a doctrinal point of view, by its leap into the darkness of an unrestrained rationalism, the

Reformation has realized the truth of the wise remarks of Vincent of Lerins: "At one moment, when at last error has been set in motion, its *slaves* are hurried whithersoever the wind drives them; at another, turning back, they are dashed like reflux waves; again, with rash presumption, they give their approval to what seems uncertain; an instant later, in irrational fear, they are frightened out of their wits at what is certain, in doubt whither to go, whither to return, what to seek, what to shun, what to keep, what to throw away."⁴

Strange to say, the rationalism of the Reformation started out from the fundamental dogma of the reformers that the only source of faith is the Bible, as interpreted by individual reason. That dogma, it was believed, would have sufficed to keep the cohesion of the mystical body of Christ. But the experience of several centuries makes it clear that the personal interpretation of the Bible as the only source of faith opens wide the gates to unrestrained rationalism. According to a Protestant divine, "Skepticism sounds forth the popular cry: 'The Bible, the religion of Protestants!' 'The right of private judgment, the great principle of the Reformation'; then it divorces the book from historical Christianity as embodied in the Church; then it takes up the book with the forceps of hermeneutical criticism, dissects the modern theory of a self-authenticated, plenary, mechanical inspiration, lays bare the weakest argument in defense of revelation that ever burdened Christianity and raises the shout of victory. The people listen and say: 'It is the voice of God! we will be Bibliolators no longer.' And then for want of anything else to worship, each man adores himself, and renders divine honors to his own transcendent reason."⁵ In its attempts to supersede the dogmatics of the Catholic Church and to make away with the principle of authority in matters of faith, the Reformation sank into doctrinal anarchy." "The religious cranks," a Protestant writer bitterly complains, "rend their triumphal way up and down our Bibles, allegorizing, distorting, misinterpreting at will, because Protestantism as the people understand it has decreed that the Bible is an infallible encyclopedia of all knowledge, and every man's notion of its meaning as good as any other's. The alternatives before us are authority or anarchy."⁶

From the very first rationalism turned its efforts towards bringing theology into disrepute. Theologians were scoffed at as dull visionaries, exhausting themselves at a task of Sisypheus. They lay

⁵ "Position of the Church," *American Quarterly Church Review*, New Haven, VI., 1853, p. 424.

⁶ Benjamin W. Bacon: "The Problem of Religious Education and the Divinity School," *The American Journal of Theology*, VIII., 1904, p. 691.

claim to explore the skies, while they wander up and down in an ocean of darkness. Theology is accursed as the iron cage of human minds. "The Catholic theology of the old school," writes E. Renan, "despises the intelligence of men of the world. The nature of this scholastic discipline is to close the mind against all that is refined; to train the eye only for those difficult trifles which have already depleted life."⁷ "The theologian has an interest—his dogma. Minimize that dogma as much as you will, it is still, to the artist and the critic, an insupportable burden. The orthodox theologian may be compared to a caged bird; every movement natural to it is forbidden. The liberal theologian is a bird, some of whose wing-feathers have been clipped. You think him master of himself, and in fact he is until the moment he seeks to take his flight. Then it is seen that he is not completely the child of the air. Let us say it boldly; critical studies relating to the origin of Christianity will not have said their last word until they are cultivated in a purely secular and unprofessional spirit."⁸

The discredit of theology in the literary history of rationalism was but a preliminary step to the war waged against the dogmatic formulæ of the Catholic Church, the creeds. All the trials of Christianity in its distressed life, all the calamities which through centuries have fallen upon mankind, all the evils which from time to time have brought to a standstill the moral and intellectual progress of society; in a word, all the deficiencies inherent in our human nature, in our sinful hearts and in our limited minds—all of them were imputed to the wickedness of dogmatic creeds.

Let us hear William E. Channing, the great doctor of Unitarian rationalism: "When I see this generous, heavenly doctrine of Christianity compressed and cramped in human creeds I feel as I should were I to see screws and chains applied to the countenance and limbs of a noble fellow-creature, deforming and destroying one of the most beautiful works."⁹ Christianity, as set forth in creeds, is a propounder of dark sayings, of riddles, of knotty propositions, of apparent contradictions. Christianity becoming identified by means of creeds with so many dark doctrines is looked on by many as a subject for theologians to quarrel about, but too thorny or perplexed for common minds, while it is spurned by many more as an insult on human reason, as a triumph of fanaticism over common sense.¹⁰ Creeds are skeletons, freezing abstractions of unintelligible

⁷ "Life of Jesus," Boston, 1896; p. 230.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁹ "A Letter on Creeds," the Works of W. E. Channing, Vol. V., Boston, 1841; p. 294.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

dogmas. Creeds are to the Scriptures what rushlights are to the sun.¹¹ Poets, following quickly in the footsteps of critics, depict in biting satire what they term the misdeeds of creeds:

“Creeds and confessions? High Church or the Low?

I cannot say; but you would vastly please us

If with some pointed Scripture you could show

To which of these belonged the Saviour Jesus.

I think to all or none. Not curious creeds

Or ordered forms of churchly rule He taught,

But soul of love that blossomed into deeds.

With human good and human blessing fraught.

On me, nor priest, nor presbyter, nor Pope,

Bishop nor dean may stamp a party name;

But Jesus with His largely human scope

The service of my human life may claim.

Let prideful priests do battle about creeds,

The Church is mine that does most Christlike deeds.”¹²

The claim of the Catholic Church to the possession of an infallible dogmatic magisterium is spurned by Protestant rationalists, as a challenge to historic reality and as a handicap to intellectual progress. “The Church having committed herself to the doctrine of her own infallibility, standing in the position of teaching persistently throughout the ages that which is now demonstrated as not being true, did all that she could to prevent men from finding out what was true. Not one single step of intellectual advance has the world made for a thousand years except in the teeth of and in defiance of that Church which has claimed to stand as the representative of Jesus.”¹³

Of course, the depreciation and repudiation of creeds gave rise to bitter criticism of the Catholic Church regarding Christian dogmas, old and new alike, as celestial messages. Rationalism declares that the doctrinal element is not to be found in primitive Christianity. “Christianity does not come to men primarily as a system of doctrine demanding the assent of intellect, but rather as a practical remedy for sin asking the consent of the will to its application.”¹⁴ “It was not, in its origin, a series of sententious propositions, nor a code of laws, nor a system of doctrine, nor a scheme of salvation of a holy life, a noble death, a wonderfully pure

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

¹² John Stuart Blackie, quoted by John Monroe Dana: “The Wider View: A Search for Truth,” New York, 1899.

¹³ M. J. Savage: “The Evolution of Christianity,” Boston, 1892; p. 138.

¹⁴ J. M. Dana, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

and perfect character and nature, a teaching at once self-proving and sublime—the whole absolutely unique in their impressive loveliness.”¹⁵

It is especially by the Protestant historians of dogma that the theory of the adogmatism of primitive Christianity and of the dogmatic forgeries of the Catholic Church is advanced and set forth as the final conclusion of historical criticism. “Dogma,” says Neander, “does not form an original part of Christianity, but is derived and secondary. The essence of Christianity consists not in a system of ideas, but in a tendency of the inner life. It is a pregnant saying of George Hamann that the pearl of Christianity is a hidden life in God, consisting neither in dogmas, nor ideas, nor ceremonies. Dogmas are only that form of the life rooted in God which is constructed by thought and reflection.”¹⁶ Dogma, according to Harnack, is “the result of an initial misunderstanding of Christianity, which has vitiated its development all through; an amalgamation of primitive Christian ideas, with conceptions borrowed from the Greek schools—the Hellenizing of Christianity.”¹⁷ Neither dogmas, nor ceremonies, nor Church, such is the logical inference of what the Gospels disclose to us about the character of Jesus.”¹⁸

No wonder, then, if the followers of the broad path of rationalism declaim that “the twentieth century will be an era of Christian ethic even more than of Christian theology.”¹⁹ It will witness the decay of dogmatism, “which embarrasses the religious life, places the emphasis at the wrong point, and fortifies it with a perverse temper. . . . It is flexible truth which subserves the purposes of progress. Inflexible truth begins at once to lose power.”²⁰ To dogmatism we are indebted for the paradox that through the Church Christ is no more a Christian. “It is evident (!) that, according to the exclusive canons of dogmatic and historic Christianity, *Jesus was not a Christian at all*. He never could have recited or understood any one of the historic creeds.”²¹

Thus rationalism makes a *tabula rasa* of the dogmatic teaching of Christianity and proclaims the advent of a new religious spirit. “There will be one great common religion, broad and comprehen-

¹⁵ William Rathbone Greg: “The Creed of Christendom,” quoted by Dana, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

¹⁶ A. Neander: “Lectures on the History of Christian Dogmas,” Vol. I., London, 1858; pp. 3-4.

¹⁷ “History of Dogma,” I., p. 21.

¹⁸ C. Guignebert: “Modernisme et Tradition Catholique,” Paris, 1908; p. 91.

¹⁹ James Orr: “The Progress of Dogma,” London, 1901; p. 353.

²⁰ John Bascom, “The New Theology,” New York, 1891; p. 152.

²¹ Charles F. Dole: “The Coming Religion,” Boston, 1910; pp. 158-159.

sive, for all the families of man. The larger religion is everywhere growing out of the older forms."²²

It will be free of the danger of theology, for "theology, too, has been and still is a great danger. It desires to become the finished product of a narrowly deductive process; it ascribes to its immediate conclusions a divine authority, and thus, in the temper of dogmatism, anticipates all the instruction of scientific inquiry, human history and God's daily providence; and struggles hard to put upon the growing products of thought, as fast as they arise, a narrow construction of its own."²³

Thus, according to rationalism derived from the Reformation, the dogmas of the Catholic Church are the discordant voices of our religious debates, the wordy issue of our wrangling. They do not throw any light on the solution of the riddle of our human destinies. They are perishable opinions, and therefore it will always be a matter of regret that "for the sake of opinions, for which we find not one single syllable of warrant in the teaching of Jesus, the Catholic Church has turned itself into the most pitiless persecutor that the world ever saw."²⁴ Hence they must be expunged from Christian life and cast into oblivion. "Sacramental superstition must die out, and along with it the overweening love of dogma, and in the place of these two idols of the past must come a consuming devotion for the kingdom of God, a passion for righteousness, a resolute purpose that God's will shall be done. . . . Our *pium desiderium* for the future is not a Church without a creed or a theology, or a philosophy, or regarding these things as idle encumbrances. We desire a Church possessing all these, but knowing better what to do with them than the Church of the past; using them as ideals, not as compulsory ordinances; as goals, not as starting points; as symbols and means of advanced fellowship, not as conditions of admission to her communion, or even to the exercise of *teaching* functions."²⁵

MODERNISM.

Modernists do not go so far in their assaults on the dogmatic system of the Catholic Church. They cling fast to the label of Christianity. If they wish to compass the ruin of the majestic edifice of Catholic doctrine, they are, nevertheless, not without a certain affection for its venerable façade. It may be a question of atavism. They feel that an invisible power inescapably claims

²² Ibid., p. 166.

²³ I. Bascom, op. cit., p. 118.

²⁴ Savage, op. cit., p. 138.

²⁵ Alexander Balmain Bruce: "The Future of Christianity," *The Biblical World*, Chicago, 1895; Vol. VI., pp. 258-259.

them to traditions, checking their every movement. As they say, they never thought of superseding the genuine teaching of Christ. They love Christ as a divine teacher, for they do not deny the divinity of the Saviour.²⁶ They feel, however, that Christianity must get rid of the dross, of the dust heaped upon its truths by a slow and laborious process of dogmatization. No doubt, revelation is the main source of Christian faith. But dogmatic formulæ are the products of Christian religious experiences. They afford to us new forms of intellectual life, new orientations of Christian thought. They mark the awakening of a new religious consciousness. They are the culmination of a period of theological speculation, and, so to speak, its ripe fruits, its verdant fields. The *onomasticon maledicentiae* of Modernism does not contain as many words of contempt as they need to brand the dogmatic formulæ of the Catholic Church. They are "the most tortuous wriggings of exegesis," "meaningless and mischievous encrustations," "dustheaps of scholasticism," "pious tamperings with the truth," "controversial chicaneries," "the cobwebs of centuries," "empty forms," "mere corpses," "ornamental nonentities," "mere collocations of words," "puns," "fanciful conceits," "dialectic legerdemains," "exegetical tricks." They "sound unintelligible to our contemporaries"; "they reduce the Church to sterility"; "they are incompatible with the fundamental positions of Catholic theology"; "they have lost all value nowadays"; "they hinder the reconciliation of the old Catholic tradition with the new thought."

Dogmas are not leaves of truth fallen from heaven. Historical criticism traces them back to their birth, their obscure origins in the different stages of Christian spiritual life. "Every day brings new success in the endeavor to mark, by means of a critical analysis of documents, the slow and at times imperceptible evolution of Christian psychological experience toward the formulation of dogma—an evolution guided by the necessity of finding theological formulæ to foster and direct the original religion of the Gospel, which consists in the expectation of a kingdom or heaven upon earth, in the felt solidarity of all souls in relation to their common good and in trust and confidence in the Heavenly Father."²⁷

At the dawn of Christianity the Church was free from the chains of dogma. "Instead of finding from the first at least the germs of those dogmatic affirmations formulated by Church authority in the course of ages, we have found a sort of religion which was originally formless and undogmatic, and which came gradually to de-

²⁶ A. Leslie Lilley: "The Programme of Modernism," New York, 1908; p. 119.

²⁷ "The Programme of Modernism," p. 78.

velop in the direction of definite forms of thought and ritual owing to the requirements of general intercourse and to the need of giving abstract expression to the principles which should shape the religious activity of the faithful.²⁸ If the newly born Church was adogmatic, dogmas are the product of her grown-up mind. Criticism has made us see how Catholic dogma has sprung entirely from the need of setting experience in harmony with the mind of the age, and the unchanging spirit of religion with the ever-varying expressions of thought."²⁹ Consequently dogmas are "doctrinal formulæ devised at a particular crisis to meet the passing religious needs of religious consciousness." Far from being the voice of an outward revelation by a loving God, they are the echo of an inward revelation springing up from the depths of the believing soul. "Sacred tradition communicates to us those eternal signs in which revelation has been recorded. The human mind ought not to remain passively receptive and inert in regard to them, because the religious experience, which they are designed to evoke, proceeds from the needs and interests of the spirit and from the synchronous vibration of our whole moral being with the divine world, which is revealed or reveals itself through these outward symbols.³⁰ In a few words, "the dogmas are shaped by the abstract formulation of Christian experience."

There is little need longer to dwell on Modernistic errors, especially as it is difficult to grasp clearly any of the concepts of dogmas entertained by Modernists—for it must be remembered that we are perforce dealing with individual concepts, for the Modernist cannot reconcile himself to abstract formulation. "Modernism," according to Tyrrell, "is not a finished and coherent theological system deduced, like scholasticism, from a few definitions. It is a method and spirit rather than a system; a mode of inquiry, not a body of results. . . . It is a movement, a process, a tendency."³¹ No wonder, then, if its terminology is vague and if it lacks precision. One could say that Modernism is afraid of the logical inference from its premises. It knows that they do not materially differ from those of extreme rationalism. Their mystical tints cannot conceal their ugliness. Modernism, in a word, like rationalism, idolizes human reason. It rejects both authority and tradition. It strikes to the heart of Christianity by squeezing the teaching of revelation into the compass of a created mind. It humanizes Chrst and Chris-

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

³¹ "The Prospects of Modernism," *The Hibbert Journal*, Vol. VI., 1908; pp. 246, 248.

tianity—and a humanized Christ (we use the word insofar as it implies the denial of the divinity of our Saviour) is no longer a Divine teacher; a humanized Christianity sinks to the level of a philosophical system.

ORTHODOXY.

Orthodoxy repeats against the Catholic Church the grievances alleged by Modernism and rationalism. It differs from both of them arithmetically, so to say. While rationalist and Modernist alike see only the hand of man, and the human life of the Church, in all the expressions of her dogmatic life, the member of the Orthodox Church boasts of the firmest loyalty to tradition. Of course, the theologians of the East come to the same conclusion. "The Catholic Church is not the true Church of Christ." For if the Catholic Church is liable to one error in dogmatic matters, it is all over with her authority and infallibility. She cannot claim from the faithful a full adhesion to her dogmatic utterances. These lack the requisite to bind their consciences. A Church that raises to the dignity of dogmas historical forgeries and individual opinions, however insignificant they may be, has lost its grasp on the souls of its believers. She will totter along the quicksands and, sooner or later, collapse. The reproach of introducing dogmatic novelties into the deposit of Christian revelation was cast upon the Catholic Church by Photius, when he did not find Pope Nicholas I. willing to overlook his usurpation of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. In his Encyclical Letter to the Eastern hierarchy he discharges all his fury against the newly born dogma of the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. The dogma is anathematized as a revolt against God, as blasphemy, a drunkenness of impiety, an absurd subterfuge, an act of arrogance and madness, a sacrilegious utterance, an heretical opinion, a devilish forgery, a system of iniquity, a deadly poison, an apostasy from faith, a pagan error worse than the fables of the Gentiles.³² According to Photius, the dogmatic novelties of the Roman Church are: the belief in the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, the insertion of the *Filioque* in the creed and the supremacy of the Bishops of Rome.

Byzantine revolt from the Catholic Church dates from Photius. It reflects his spirit of hatred, his dialectical method, his subtle sophistry. For the Eastern Churches, Photius fills the place of Luther in the Western Reformation. His followers went far beyond the animosity of their master. Under their pens, the dogmatic divergencies between the East and the West reached fan-

³² "Epistola Encyclica ad Orientales," P. G., CII., col. 721-742.

tastic proportions. They were counted by tens and hundreds. Nothing was spared in order to make the Latins guilty of the strangest crimes. The most inoffensive liturgical customs and traditions, the most guileless practices of piety were scoffed at and turned into ridicule as dogmatic novelties. A Byzantine polemist of the fourteenth century inveighed against the Latin heretics on the ground that "Comedunt ursos, picas testudines, echinos, canes fluviatiles, cornices, cervos, laros; una cum barba totius corporis pilos praesules radunt; canes ursos aliaqua immunda animalia in ecclesias introducunt." And this is by no means the limit of his angry pen. Finally, the definitions of the Immaculate Conception of Mary and of Papal infallibility drove the Orthodox theologians almost entirely out of their wits. The Catholic Church was accursed as the great adulteress of Christianity. Orthodox theology vied with that of the Reformation in echoing Harnack's assertion that "dogma is a system of law placed at the disposition of the Pope, carried out administratively and losing itself in endless casuistry."³³

CATHOLICISM.

Strange to say, the Catholic doctrine about dogma and the dogmatic progress was clearly and fully outlined by the grand master of Modernism before his lamentable defection: "The deposit of faith is as a document delivered once and for all into the Church's hands, to which she can add and from which she can take not an iota or tittle. Her only mental progress in its regard is that of a clearer, deeper and fuller penetration of the meaning. . . . What we have received as of faith that we hold forever, and as far as possible in the same form, yet unlike those Christians who appeal from the living Church to the dead, or who fix some arbitrary date at which all dogmatic evolution was arrested, we believe that, in the mind of the Church collectively, the conception of the whole body of revealed truth grows in fulness and distinctness as she ponders it in her heart; that the relations of part with part stand out more clearly; that new consequences and applications are observed; while the denials of heretics ever call for modifications of expression by which an increasing exactitude is secured."³⁴

That doctrine is as old as the Church itself. Its roots are to be found in the earliest traditions; it echoes throughout all the pages of the ancient fathers and doctors and ecclesiastical writers; it was

³³ An historical survey of the pretended dogmatic novelties of the Roman Church according to the orthodox polemics is contained in the writer's work: "Theologia Dogmatica Orthodoxa," Florentiae, 1913, Vol. II., pp.1-168.

³⁴ G. Tyrrell: "The Faith of Millions," London (second ed.), 1902; pp. 148, 133.

clearly systematized in the fifth century by Vincent of Lerins; in the Middle Ages by masters of scholasticism. No clearer and fuller exposition is to be found than that of St. Bonaventure. The great doctor queries whether the truths of the faith are susceptible of a numerical augmentation and makes this distinction in answering the question. The increase may be understood in a double sense, either as the addition of new articles of faith; viz., dogmatic truths or as the explanation of dogmatic truths implicitly contained in the deposit of divine revelation. In the former sense dogmas cannot increase. In the latter there is a dogmatic progress, insofar as those truths that were implicitly believed by the faithful were explained and, so to speak, distinguished in many articles of faith.³⁵ This augmentation, however, this progress in the domain of faith, does not alter substantially its object, but only accidentally, for it limits itself to the explanation of what was implicitly believed. Hence it would be repugnant to sound logic to say that faith may be liable to essential alterations.³⁶ This, however, does not exclude a relative dogmatic progress. Faith increases as to the fulness of its light. Its augmentations rest on a fuller exposure of truth and a larger diffusion of divine grace. The teaching of the faith improves as time goes on. The believers know better what they believe, and their knowledge is superior to that of the ancients. They have the foundation of the words of Christ. They have the sacraments of the new Covenant, the merits of Christ, the price of His Redemption, and following them a more abundant effusion of the grace of the Holy Ghost.³⁷

³⁵ Credibilia multiplicari dupliciter potest intelligi; vel quantum ad movorum articulorum additionem, vel quantum ad explicitorum explanationem. Si primo modo intelligatur, sic non est concedendum fidem profecisse quantum ad credendorum multiplicationem; si secundo modo sic profecit secundum progressum temporis, quia quod uno tempore credebatur implicite, et quasi uno articulo processu temporis explicatum est, et quasi distinctum in multa credibilia. . . . Et sic patet quod fides profecit quantum ad credibilium multitudinem, non nova addendo, sed quodam modo implicita explicando. Sentent. lib. III., Dist. XXV., 9, 1. a. II Opera omnia, t. IV., ed. Peltier, Parisiis, 1865; p. 555

³⁶ Multiplicatio articulorum, secundum quam dicimus fidem profecisse, non mutat obiectum secundum substantiam, sed solum secundum accidens, quia implicitum explicat; et idea ex hoc non potest inferri, quod fides essentialiter sit mutata. Ibid., Ad. Secundum, p. 556.

³⁷ Secundum diversitatem temporum crevit fides quantum ad luminis plenitudinem, intelligendo de fide secundum statum vevi communem. Hoc autem non est propter ipsorum temporum transmutationem primo et principaliter, set propter veritatis exhibitionem; propter maioris gratiæ diffusionem; propter pleniorum instructionem; ideo enim credentes clarius nunc ea quae credunt, cognoscunt, quam antiquitus cognoscebant, quia jam est veritas exhibita per Christum, jam etiam gratia Spiritus Sancti amplius diffunditur in sacramentis novae legis propter Christi meritum, et pretium jam solutum. Ibid., 9, II., p. 558.

The fundamental unchangeableness of Christian dogmatics constitutes, therefore, the criterion of Catholic theology in its position as to revealed truth. The teaching of faith, which was revealed by God, is not to be perfected by human minds like a philosophical system. It is a divine deposit consigned to the Spouse of Christ, a deposit to be faithfully watched and infallibly declared. Hence it follows that that meaning of dogmas ought to be perpetually preserved, which Holy Mother Church once declared, and it is never allowed under the pretext and appearance of a higher understanding to deviate from that meaning. The intelligence, then, the knowledge, the wisdom, as well of individuals as of all, as well of one man as of the whole Church, ought in the course of ages and centuries to increase and make much vigorous progress. But this will occur only within the bounds of and consistent with its own category; that is to say, in the same doctrine, in the same sense and in the same meaning.³⁸

The Church cannot betray her mission by spreading a doctrine which was not given her by her Divine Founder. "Keep the deposit," Vincent of Lerins eloquently urged upon the Universal Church. "Preserve the talent of Catholic faith inviolate, unadulterated. That which has been intrusted to thee, let it continue in thy possession, let it be handed on by thee. Thou hast received gold; give gold in turn. Do not substitute one thing for another. Do not for gold impudently substitute lead or brass. Give real gold, not counterfeit."³⁹

The Catholic Church has been faithful to the principles laid down by Vincent of Lerins on the granite base of ecclesiastical traditions. All the documents issued by the authentic magisterium of the Roman See exclude in the clearest terms the legitimacy of new dogmas, that is of dogmas which neither explicitly nor implicitly are contained in the deposit of divine revelation. Moreover, all the documents issued by the same magisterium vehemently condemn the theories, both theological and philosophical, that undermine the principle of the absolute immutability of dogmatic truths.

³⁸ Neque, enim fidei doctrina, quam Deus revelavit, velut philosophicum inventum proposita est humanis ingeniis perficienda, sed tanquam divinum depositum Christi sponsae tradita, fideliter eustodienda et infallibiliter declaranda. Hinc sacrorum quoque dogmatum is sensus perpetuo est retinendus, quem semel declaravit sancta mater Ecclesia, nec unquam ab eo sensu altioris intelligentiae specie et nomine recedendum. Crescat igitur . . . et multum vehementerque proficiat, tam singulorum quam omnium, tam unius hominis quam totius Ecclesiae, tetatum ac saeculorum gradibus, intelligentia, scientia, sapientia: sed in suo dumtaxat genere, in eodem scilicet dogmate, eodem sensu eademque sententia. "Constitutio de Fide Catholica," c. iv., Deniger; "Enchiridion symbolorum," ed. X; Friburgi Brigoviae, 1908; pp. 479-480.

³⁹ "Commonitorium," XXII., 53.

The literary history of the Catholic Church does not offer any statement opposite to her oft-repeated declarations as to the eternal stability of her dogmatic teaching. In 1903 Pius X. condemned those theories denying the fulness of Christian revelation as achieved by the Apostles, or insinuating that dogmas are the interpretation of some religious experiences and the speculative product of the human mind.⁴⁰ If, therefore, the Catholic Church rejects whatever denies that the cycle of divine revelation closed with the death of the Apostles, it is obvious that, far from authorizing the elaboration of new dogmas, she repudiates even their possibility.

Of course, we do not say that after the death of the Apostles the revealed truths lost their vitality and, so to speak, their outward elasticity. They did not fossilize within the formularies of faith. Under the leadership of the Church, great thinkers and theologians strove to elucidate their meaning by means of human analogies. They showed their relation and evolved more precise terms for their enunciation; they threw the pale light of the human intellect upon their sacred mists. The Church took advantage of the results of theological speculation to clothe the revealed truths with formulas admirably expressing their divine contents. Thus no room was left for the cavil of heresy. But we repeat once more, she is conscious of holding, by virtue of the divine assistance, that faith which, according to the Vincentian rule, "has been believed everywhere, always and by all."⁴¹ Her teaching is marked with the characteristic notes of the truly Catholic doctrine, viz., *universality, antiquity and consent*. "Let there be no innovation," declared Pope Stephen I. (254-257) in his letter to the Africans. "That holy and prudent man," comments Vincent of Lerins, "well knew that true piety admits no other rule than that whatsoever things have been faithfully received from our fathers, the same are to be faithfully consigned to our children; and that it is our duty not to lead religion whither we would, but rather to follow religion whither it leads; and that it is the part of Christian modesty not to hand down our own beliefs or observances to those who come after us, but to preserve and keep what we have received from those who went before us."⁴²

The adversaries of Catholic doctrine object that the theory of an outward progress, of a scientific elaboration or of a clearer ex-

⁴⁰ Revelatio, obiectum fidei catholicae constituens, non fuit cum Apostolis completa. Dogmata, quae Ecclesia perhibet tanquam revelata, non sunt veritates e coelo delapsae, sed sunt interpretatio quaedam factorum religiosorum, quam humana mens laborioso conatu sibi comparavit. Decretum "Lamentabili," prop. 21, 22; Denziger, p. 540.

⁴¹ "Commonitorium," II., 6.

⁴² Ibid., VI., 17.

planation of the dogmatic truths of our faith is a subterfuge to cloak the unruly adoption of dogmatic novelties. In answering the objection let us observe that the right of setting forth the authentic meaning of a theory whatsoever belongs to its author. With greater reason that right is claimed by the Catholic Church. She is a living institution. She claims a divine mission. Her spiritual and social action has spread throughout the world. She is the keeper of a doctrine which she proclaims to have inherited from Jesus Christ and His Apostles. From this it follows that dogmas are an essential element of the intellectual life of the Church. They belong to her, and she knows them better than those who do not participate in her life. Therefore, when she affirms that a theory about dogmatic truths is the genuine expression of her faith or teaching we ought to accept her assertion. And when her foes declare that a principle set forth by her infallible magisterium contradicts her practice it is the Church herself that is entitled to explain the meaning of that controverted principle. Still more. She feels the duty of clearing up the sense of her doctrine, of her axioms, of her principles, and that duty is pressing when controversies arise which sow dissension among the ranks of her followers.

Herein the conduct of the Church does not differ from what we see happening in any walk of life. Suppose that a provision in some code of laws gives rise to various discordant interpretations. Its true meaning ought to be elucidated. To whom does the civil power entrust this task? No one in his right senses would maintain that surgeons or mathematicians were to be charged with the interpretation of such a paragraph. The task naturally falls to jurisconsults. Similarly, it would be absurd to call in a jurisconsult or a mathematician in order to ascertain whether a man has died of pneumonia or blood-poisoning. All the branches of human learning have their official interpreters, their authoritative teachers, who have spent the best years of their life in the study of them. To those teachers we apply whenever we need to know thoroughly the meaning, the value, the bearings of a principle within the range of those sciences of which they are respectively masters. What reason, then, is there to refuse to the Catholic Church the right of interpreting her own doctrine? She has at least as much right as scientists in all departments of human learning. So far as our present subject is concerned, the magisterium of the Catholic Church has ever shown the authentic meaning of dogmatic progress. This refers only to the elaboration of dogmatic formulas. It does not touch the kernel of dogmatic

truths. Therefore, the body of Catholic dogmas does not undergo any substantial alteration either through omission or commission. It does not increase or diminish.

We speak of the "magisterium" of the Catholic Church. And it is a fact that the meaning of dogmatic progress, as outlined above, is not drawn from the peculiar teaching of this or that theologian. It is clearly defined and set forth in the authentic and official documents of the Church. When we say, therefore, that the Catholic Church by her dogmatic definitions excludes the numerical augmentation of her dogmatic truths we do not expound the opinion of an individual theologian. We ought to declare that *theoretically* the Catholic Church rejects the birth of new dogmas and the death of the old ones. She repudiates the *substantial* evolution of dogmas. The deposit of faith remains inviolate in her hands. She beautifies and states precisely the doctrinal inheritance of Christ *externally*. She works out new dogmatic formulæ, not new dogmas.

It may be objected that *theoretically* our assertions answer to the point, but that practically they are belied by the facts. It will be said that the history of dogma contradicts the theory of the Catholic magisterium. This objection we shall discuss in a later paper.

A. PALMIERI.

Lawrence, Mass.

CLARENCE MANGAN.

OUTSIDE his native land the name of Clarence Mangan is practically unknown. To many, even of his countrymen, he is known only as a translator of the German poets. The man, his splendid gifts, the richest fruits of his genius, all are hidden in an obscurity from which it is very difficult to rescue them, so few and hard to trace are the records left to us of this singularly gifted and most unhappy being. Clarence Mangan was born on May 1, 1803, in Fishamble street, Dublin. Many historic memories cluster round this ancient quarter of the city. Here in the old music hall Handel's "Messiah" was first performed, and here also was the famous theatre where one of the conditions for admittance was that "ladies and gentlemen should wear shoes and stockings." No. 3, the house in which Clarence Mangan was born, belonged for many generations to an ancient and well-known family of the name of Ussher. The Ussher coat-of-arms still remains graven on the front of the house. Eventually, however, it passed into other hands, at length becoming the property of a Miss Catherine Smith, who carried on a flourishing grocery business. Catherine Smith became acquainted with a teacher named James Mangan, a native of Limerick. The acquaintanceship soon ripened into something closer, and in 1801 they were married. Four children were born to them, of whom the eldest, our poet, as we have said, came into life in 1803. The elder Mangan was a man of fair education and refined taste. But as might be expected, having regard to his previous avocation, he was not a successful man of business. In 1811 he persuaded his wife's brother, Patrick Smith, at that time living in London, to undertake the management of the shop in Fishamble street. From that time Mangan's connection with the business may be said to have practically ceased.

According to all received accounts and the poet's own revelations, even if these are somewhat highly colored, his childhood seems to have been inexpressibly sad and joyless. A great French writer, describing the utter misery of his own early years, says: "*Je n'avais pas de jeunesse*," words of saddest import; so, too, may it be said of Mangan that he had no youth. Mangan's father seems to have been a nervous, irritable, tyrannical man, something of a coward, too, one cannot help thinking, for the objects of his tyranny were his helpless wife and children. To outsiders he was generosity itself. In reading of him we are forcibly reminded of the homely saying

which characterizes those of similar disposition as "house devils and street angels." Down to the latest years of his life Clarence seems to have retained bitter recollections of his father and to have regarded him as the cause of his misfortunes. Improvidence seems to have been the elder Mangan's besetting fault. To those who applied to him for money he invariably gave double the amount asked. Unfortunately, when he relinquished the grocery business he was persuaded to embark in trade again as a vintner. From that hour misfortunes dogged his footsteps. Several speculations upon which he had entered proved complete failures. Disaster followed disaster.

"My father," says the poet, "at length grew desperate. Within the lapse of a very limited period he had failed in eight successive establishments in different parts of Dublin, until finally nothing remained for him to do but to sit down and fold his arms in despair. Ruin and beggary stared him in the face; his spirit was broken." When the final crash came Michael Smith, another of his mother's brothers and a prosperous merchant, charged himself with Clarence's education. Previous to the final collapse of the family fortunes Clarence had attended a famous school existing at that time in Saul's Court, Dublin. It was while at this school that the poet, under the tuition of a master who had studied much abroad, made his acquaintance with the French, Spanish and Italian languages, in which he afterwards attained great proficiency. The thoughtful, studious child, so lonely and neglected at home, found his solace in books. "Books and solitude," he says, were his refuge when at home. "Days would pass during which my father seemed neither to know nor care whether I was living or dead. My brothers and sisters fared better; they indulged in habits of active exercise and strengthened their constitutions, morally and physically, to a degree that even enabled them to present a successful front of opposition to the tyranny exercised over them. But I shut myself up in a close room. I isolated myself in such a manner from my own nearest relations that with one voice they proclaimed me 'mad.' Perhaps I was; this much, at least, is certain, that it was precisely at that period (from my tenth to my fourteenth year) that the seeds of moral insanity were developed within me, which afterwards grew up into a tree of giant altitude."

His childhood was strangely neglected, dark and joyless. He had no companions, nor did he ever know what it was to join in the amusements of other boys. Naturally of a strongly marked nervous temperament, he himself, speaking of his childhood, says that even then his nerves were irretrievably shattered. It is cer-

tainly a weird and terrible picture that the poet paints for us of his early years. Whilst yet but little more than an infant a strange accident befell him. According to his own account, a girl who lodged in his father's house sent him out one day to buy a ballad. It was raining heavily at the time and his head was uncovered, but the girl told him the rain would make him grow. Believing her, he ran out, lost his way and wandered for a long time before he at last made his way home. He was then five years old, and from that time until he was thirteen, a period of eight years, he remained almost blind. Only when twilight came could he open his eyes, and then "he read." During the whole of this time he has left on record that he was perpetually haunted by the dread of some awful impending calamity, he knew not of what nature. He seemed to be ever in the vicinity of some tremendous catastrophe from which it was vain to flee. "Such was my condition," he says, "from my sixth to my sixteenth year." Strange destiny! Happy, light-hearted boyhood's years transformed into a period of cruel agonizing suffering! Mangan's uncle removed him from the school in Saul's Court and sent him to a cheaper one in what was known then as Derby Square, off Werburgh street. Here is the poet's description of his first day in the new school. "Twenty boys," he says, "were arranged in a class, and to me, as the latest comer, was allotted the lowest place, with which I was perfectly contented. The question propounded by the schoolmaster was 'What is a parenthesis?' But in vain did he test their philological capacities; one alone attempted some blundering explanation from the grammar, and finally to me, as the forlorn hope taat might possibly save the credit of the school, was the query referred. 'Sir,' said I, 'I have only come into the school to-day and have not had time to look into the grammar, but I should suppose a parenthesis to be something included in a sentence, but which might be omitted from the sentence without injury to the meaning of the sentence!' 'Go up, sir,' exclaimed the master, 'to the head of the class.' With an emotion of boyish pride I assumed the place allotted to me, but the next minute found me once more in my original position. 'Why do you go down again, sir?' asked the worthy pedagogue. 'Because, sir,' cried I boldly, 'I have not deserved the head place. Give it to this boy,' and I pointed to the lad who had all but succeeded. 'He merits it better, because, at least, he has tried to study his task.' The schoolmaster smiled; he and the usher whispered together and I was remanded to a seat apart. . . ."

Mangan then goes on to tell us that from his earliest years he loved declamation, not, as he is careful to record, for the sake of

his audience, but for his own pleasure. He loved to rhapsodize alone, and any intrusion at such moments made him miserable. Yet he assures us he was quite free from any of the ordinary shyness of boyhood. "I merely felt or fancied that between me and those who approached me no species of sympathy could exist, and I shrank from communion with them as from something alien from my nature. This feeling continued to acquire strength daily, until in after years it became one of the grand and terrible miseries of my existence." Then with the vividness born of his marvelous power of self-dissection he described for us the origin—the root, as it were, of this strange idiosyncrasy. "It was a morbid product of pride and presumption which, almost hidden from myself, constituted even from my childhood governing traits in my character and have so often rendered me repulsive in the eyes of others." But dark and unlovely as were these days, still darker ones were coming. His father's repeated failures had reduced the family to a state of almost absolute destitution. It was necessary that some one should earn bread for the rest. The lot fell on our poet. The elder Mangan decided to apprentice his son to the scrivenerly business, at that time a lucrative calling. Deep and bitter was the grief of Clarence when he learned his fate. His soul sickened within him. How one sympathizes with this lonely, highly strung, morbid boy, hitherto living in a world of dreams and shadows, shrinking, as he had told us, with a horror almost akin to physical pain from contact with uncongenial natures now forced to do daily battle with the world! He loathed the toil, the struggle to which he was condemned. "For ten long years," he says in an autobiographical fragment found after his death, "I toiled and moiled, all for my parents, my sister and my two brothers. I was obliged to work for seven years of the ten, from 5 in the morning, winter and summer, to 11 at night, and during the three remaining years nothing but a special Providence could have saved me from suicide. For the seven years I was in a scrivener's office, during the three in an attorney's. . . . The misery of my mind, my natural tendency to loneliness, poetry and self-analysis, the persecutions I was compelled to undergo and which I never avenged but by acts of kindness (which acts were always taken as evidence of weakness on my part and only provoked further aggression), added to these the close air of the room and the perpetual smoke of the chimney, all these destroyed my constitution. No, I am wrong. It was not even all these that destroyed me. In seeking to escape from this misery I laid the foundation of the evil habit which has since proved so ruinous to me."

One cannot but suspect Mangan of exaggeration with regard to the behavior of his fellow-clerks, but let us remember that he was a poet and a genius. Strange, indeed, are the ways of geniuses, and as a rule they must be unpleasant people to live with. Doubtless Mangan's sensitive shrinking nature and gloomy, brooding disposition, together with the intense repugnance he had for his work, caused whatever vexation he may have met with to assume giant proportions in his imagination. It was in 1818 that Mangan first began to appear in print. There are few or none of these early efforts worth mentioning, being mere feats of rhyming, mostly of a comic nature. They were nearly all written for the almanacs, which at that time took the place of magazines, there being scarcely anything worthy of the name of periodical published in Ireland. During all this time Mangan suffered almost continually from ill health. Probably it was his physical and mental sufferings which drove him to the use of opium, for that Mangan was an opium-eater cannot be denied. In 1831 a newspaper called the *Comet*, destined to become famous, was started with the object of supporting the anti-tithe movement. Thomas Browne, "Jonathan Buckthorn," was appointed editor, with John Sheehan as sub-editor. Mangan was one of the chief contributors to this paper. The founders and contributors were all members of the "Comet Club," already a considerable time in existence, when the newspaper was started. Mr. D. J. O'Donoghue, Mangan's best biographer, gives us a list of the leading members of the staff, all of whom achieved distinction in the path of literature. The editor, Thomas Browne, was originally a miller in the Queen's county, born in 1775. He has been called "the Irish Cobbett." John Sheehan, the son of a shopkeeper in Celbridge, he was educated at Clongowes-Wood College, where "Father Prout" was one of his teachers. He was a friend of Thackeray later in life and the undoubted original of Captain Shandon in "Pendennis;" Joseph Sterling Coyne (afterwards a contributor to *Punch*); Lover; John Cornelius O'Callaghan ("Carolan"), the historian of "The Irish Brigades in the Service of France;" Maurice O'Connell, son of the Liberator; Robert Knox, later editor of the *London Morning Herald*; Thomas Kennedy ("O'More"); Dominick Ronayne, afterwards M. P. for Cork, editor of the *Figaro* in Dublin; George Dunbar, and lastly, James Mangan ("Clarence"). Truly a brilliant galaxy. In 1833 the *Comet* came to an end. Browne and Sheehan were prosecuted by the Government and condemned to be fined and imprisoned. The sentence was, however, partly remitted. Mangan was doomed to meet with as little sympathy from the staff of the *Comet* as he did from the clerks

in the attorney's office. They did not understand the painfully sensitive nature, and his weakness and eccentricity provoked their laughter and ridicule. Hence he shunned their society, shrinking every day more and more into himself. Gradually he withdrew altogether from the companionship of his kind and went about alone, avoiding every one who knew him. Occasionally he would throw off the nightmare of gloom and melancholy which oppressed him, and then we are told never was there more delightful companion while these brief spells of a better mood lasted.

About 1833 (the date is somewhat uncertain) an overwhelming tragedy blighted forever the poet's life. He fell in love with a young lady named Miss Margaret Stackpoole. She was, it seems, a very beautiful, fascinating girl, "the most beautiful and fascinating," Mangan himself tells us, that he ever met. According to his own version of the story, she received his advances favorably and gave him every reason to hope. John Mitchell, who had every opportunity of knowing the truth, says: "By a rare accident he penetrated into a sphere of life higher and more refined than any his poor lot had before revealed to him. . . . He was on terms of visiting in a house where there were three sisters, one of them beautiful, spirituelle and a coquette. The old story was here once more reenacted in due order. Paradise opened before him; the imaginative and passionate soul of a devoted boy bended in homage before an enchantress. She received it, was pleased with it, even encouraged and stimulated it by various arts known to that class of persons, until she was fully and proudly conscious of her absolute power over one other gifted and noble nature—until she knew that she was the centre of the whole orbit of his being and the light of his life—then with cold surprise, as wondering that he could be guilty of such a foolish presumption, she exercised her undoubted prerogative and whistled him down the wind. His air-paradise was suddenly a darkness and a chaos. He never loved and hardly ever looked upon any woman forevermore." Mangan himself tells us that he introduced a friend to the lady and that it was for this friend he was so ignominiously rejected.

"I tried to summon a sufficient share of philosophy to assist me in sustaining the tremendous shock thus inflicted on me. In vain, in vain. The iron had found its way into my soul. I was condemned to be the miserable victim of my own confidingness and the treachery of others. I might live, might bear about with me the burden of my agony for long years to come, but my peace was everlastingly blasted." Mangan never recovered from this crushing sorrow. It was, as it were, his deathblow, morally and physically. Gloom and despair once more settled down upon him with tenfold

intensity, and then as before he sought oblivion from his woes. He does not seem even to have made an effort to save himself; perhaps he could not. His will, naturally weak, was rendered still weaker by his indulgence in opium, and so he sank deeper and deeper into the abyss. His friends tried every possible means to stop him in his downward course, but in vain. His answer to all their arguments was that it was too late; he could not break his awful bondage. In 1838 he obtained a situation as a copyist for the Ordnance Survey. His duties obliged him to spend much time in Marsh's Library, Trinity College, and there he spent enchanted hours in the old library amongst the old and curious books of which it was the storehouse. The closing of the Ordnance Survey Office left Mangan without any means of living, nor did he try ever again for permanent occupation. His parents were now dead, and he lived with his youngest brother, who, it seems, was an idle, good-for-nothing fellow. The poet's life was, indeed, a wretched one. Although during this time he wrote much and constantly, most of his finest work being produced when he was at his lowest ebb, still he does not appear to have derived much pecuniary benefit from it. He was very extravagant and careless about money matters. Money was gone from him as soon as he received it. No wonder that he was often in a state of actual destitution. His best and truest friend through all the misery and degradation of his latter years was the Rev. P. C. Meehan, a Catholic clergyman. From the time he became acquainted with him until the poet's death this good friend clung to him, doing all that lay in the power of man to do to wean the unhappy genius from his evil habit.

By degrees as his state grew worse his friends, all save very few, dropped away from him. He passed through the streets of Dublin a worn, wan, lonely figure, every line of which was stamped with disease and death. At last he was stricken by illness in May, 1848, and was taken to St. Vincent's Hospital, in Stephen's Green, which is under the care of the Sisters of Charity. One day there came another poet to St. Vincent's, to seek rest and healing with the poor and the illiterate. A pale, ghostlike creature, with snow-white hair tossed over his lordly forehead and falling lankly on either side of a face handsome in outline, bloodless and wrinkled, though not with age, James Clarence Mangan was carried up to St. Patrick's ward and laid on a nice fresh bed. His weird blue eyes, distraught with the opium-eater's dreams, closed beneath their heavy lids, and his head fell back in sleep, just as it is pictured fallen back in death by Frederick William Burton's magical pencil. The change from poor Mangan's wretched garret to the comforts of the hospital ward was fully appreciated by the sufferer, who, however, did not pour forth his gratitude in a tide of song. "Oh, the luxury of clean

sheets!" he exclaimed. Nor, indeed, did the Sisters recognize in their patient the charm of one who had drunk of Hippocrene. All they could discover of the poetic organization in this strange, sad man was the acutely sensitive and painfully restless temperament supposed to be a characteristic of genius. The author of the German and Irish anthologies was, in truth, a rather troublesome patient. One of the Sisters, willing to excuse his peculiarity, simply remarked, "These poets have nerves at every pore." The "restless temperament" did not allow him to remain long in the hospital. But partially recovered, he wandered forth to sink into even lower depths of misery than he had yet fathomed. The last year of his life was one of awful suffering. Homeless, starving, he disappeared from every one during the last few months before death mercifully came to release the tortured spirit. On the 13th of June, 1849, he was found dying in a cellar in Bride street, and thence removed to the Meath Hospital, where he was attended with the utmost devotion by the late Dr. Stokes until he died, seven days after his admission.

And so ends this saddest of stories. Every harsh criticism and severe judgment must be silenced by the awful sufferings of this wasted life. It is not for us to judge how far Mangan was morally responsible for his terrible weakness. It was the only blemish—great enough, it is true—on this most gifted being. His friends are unanimous on this point. He was pure-minded, gentle, incapable of unkindness to any one in word or act. "He never," says one who knew him well, "wrought sorrow and suffering to any human being but himself." In youth the poet possessed much personal beauty, having, we are told, finely chiseled features, blue eyes brilliant with the fire of genius and golden hair. One who first saw him at the time he obtained employment in Trinity College thus describes him: "Being in the college library . . . an acquaintance pointed out to me a man perched on the top of a ladder with the whispered information that he was Clarence Mangan. It was an unearthly and ghostly figure, in a brown garment, the same garment, to all appearance, which lasted until the day of his death. The blanched hair was totally unkempt, the corpse-like features still as marble; a large book was in his arms and all his soul was in the book. I had never heard of Clarence Mangan before and knew not for what he was celebrated, yet took a volume, not to read, but with the pretense of reading to gaze on the spectral creature before me." The Rev. P. C. Meehan's description of his appearance about the same time is worthy also of quotation: "He was five feet six or seven in height, slightly stooped and attenuated as one of Memling's monks. His head was large, and beautifully shaped, his eyes blue, his features exceedingly fine, and sicklied o'er with that diaphanous pallor which is said to distinguish those in whom the fire of genius

has burned too rapidly from childhood. And the dress of this spectral-looking man was singularly remarkable, taken down at haphazard from some peg in an old-clothes shop—a baggy pantaloons that was never intended for him, a short coat closely buttoned, a blue cloth cloak still shorter. The hat was in keeping with his habiliment, broad-leafed and steeple-shaped, the model of which he must have found in some picture of Hudibras.” After death his features regained all their early beauty, every trace of suffering, physical and mental, being completely effaced. Dr. Stokes was so struck with the ineffable beauty of the dead face that he sent for his friend, Frederick Burton (afterwards Sir Frederick Burton), then a young man, that he might make a drawing of it. Sir Frederick afterwards presented his exquisitely beautiful drawing to the National Gallery in Dublin.

To enter upon anything like a detailed review of Clarence Mangan’s poems would be impossible within the limits of a magazine article. His *German Anthology*, published in June, 1845, is his best-known work. Undoubtedly few have ever equaled, certainly none surpassed him in his rendering of the German poets. As a translator he stands unrivaled. Indeed, the word translation is scarcely applicable to some of his work, so far does it exceed the original in beauty of diction and graceful imagination. He improved and beautified everything which he touched. Of all his translations from the German, the palm by common consent is given to his rendering of Jean Paul Richter’s prose, “The New Year’s Night of a Miserable Man,” beginning “In the lone stillness of the New Year’s Night.” In many of his poems Mangan resembles in the weird and gloomy magnificence of his style that other genius, Edgar Allan Poe, whose life-story is so similar to his own. His so-called translations from Arabic, Persian and Turkish are in reality original poems, owing their Oriental coloring to his own glowing imagination and to his intimate acquaintance with the German writers, many of whom were dominated by Eastern influence. Mangan dearly loved playing such pranks upon his readers. In reality he was not acquainted with any of the Oriental languages. The same may be said of his translations from the Irish, these being renderings from previous translations, the work of far inferior poets. Amongst some of the most beautiful of his translations from the German poets are “Mignon’s Song,” “In the Wind,” “The Last Words of Al-Hassan” and “The Dying Flower.” His so-called Oriental translations, but which are undoubtedly original, are very beautiful. “The Karamanian Exile,” “The Wail and Warning of the Three Kalendeers,” and above all, the lovely “Time of the Barmecides,” are exquisite specimens of his genius. Their glowing imagery is so true to Eastern nature that those not deeply versed in the Oriental

poets may easily be deceived and accept them as genuine translations.

By far the best of Mangan's poems were written for the *University Magazine* and the *Nation* newspapers. For the *Nation* especially his most brilliant work was done, notably during the famine year. This was the period when he had reached the lowest possible depths of suffering and degradation, and it was precisely the time when his genius soared highest. One of Mangan's most beautiful poems, which appeared in the *Nation* in 1846, is "Dark Rosaleen." In the original Irish this was entitled "Roisin Dubh"—"The Black-Haired Little Rose." The poem is supposed to have been written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth by one of the bards in the suite of Red Hugh O'Donnell. The chieftain addresses Ireland by the name of Dark Rosaleen, declaring his love for her and his willingness to die that she may regain her freedom. Mangan's version of Roisin Dubh (it had been rendered into English before) far exceeds in beauty the original, which, in fact, it so little resembles that it can scarcely be termed a translation. The "Vision of Connaught in the Thirteenth Century" is regarded as a masterpiece both of metrical structure and imaginative power. This poem is distinctly original. Exquisite, too, in its mournful cadence is the "Dirge for the O'Sullivan Beare." The finest perhaps of Mangan's religious poems is "St. Patrick's Hymn Before Tara." The original is written in the Bearla Feine, the most ancient Irish dialect, being that in which the Brehon laws were written. The manuscript is in Trinity College library, and is declared by Dr. Petrie on good authority to be nearly thirteen hundred years old. In quite another strain is the well-known "Woman of Three Cows," written for the *Irish Penny Journal*, which first appeared in 1840. The humor of this little gem is inimitable.

We must close this imperfect sketch of a most brilliant, yet most unfortunate Irishman. Great were his gifts and inexpressibly great were his misfortunes. Whilst we yield to the former the tribute of our admiration, let us accord to the latter our generous sympathy.

E. LEAHY.

Dublin, Ireland.

ANSGAR, THE APOSTLE OF THE NORTH—A. D. 801-865.

AFTER Charlemagne, in the beginning of the ninth century, had so quickly and gloriously consummated the great work which St. Boniface had begun for Germany, by subduing the Saxons and especially by establishing the Saxon Bishoprics of Paderborn, Münster, Osnabrück, Minden, Halberstadt, Hildesheim and Bremen, the boundary of the new empire reached northward to the country of the Danes. These heathen peoples, like the Saxons of old, proved a most dangerous enemy to the inhabitants of the empire. A century before Charlemagne, to secure the safety of the Frankish kingdom, had to subdue the Saxons with force and give them Christianity in the place of their former uncivilized and pirate life. It became necessary at this time to adopt a similar policy with the Danes and other Northmen, whose viking ships were a constant menace to the neighboring nations. These wild Northmen or Norsemen, as they are also called, set sail from their homes in the peninsula of Jutland, the islands of the Baltic and the shores of the Scandinavian continent, invaded the coast towns of Gaul and Germany, and with their long, narrow boats entered far up the rivers and inlets of these countries, plundering everywhere churches, monasteries and flourishing towns. Whatever the Christians built up by painstaking labor might crumble into ruins over night.

The sword in the hands of the quarrelsome successors of Charlemagne was small protection against these depredations of the Northmen. But "grace can where nature cannot." The gradual conversion of the North to Christianity was to subdue and finally destroy not its people, but their savage instincts and barbarian cruelty. Meanwhile Divine Providence was preparing for this mission one who was to become to the North what St. Boniface had been to Germany, that one was St. Ansgar, the Benedictine.

Ansgar was born of distinguished parents in Picardy, France, in the year 801. His mother, a lady of great piety, died when he was only five years old. But the fear of God which she had planted in the life of the tender child received fostering care even after her early death, for his father sent the boy of five to the monks of (old) Corbie, a monastery near Amiens, to be educated. There at first Ansgar began to act boyishly, giving himself more to pranks and vain words than to the discipline of education. One night about this time he had a vision, in which he seemed to be walking along a slippery path, fearful that at any moment he should fall into the quagmire. Alongside the path which he trod he could see a safe and beautiful road along which his mother was passing in

a choir of white-clad women led by a sublime and majestic figure. Ansgar labored to free himself from the mire and bring himself onto the safe path. He was struggling without success when the Mother of God, whom he recognized in the inspiring figure, addressed to him these words: "Do you wish to share our company? Then flee vanities and put away boyish pranks." After this vision Ansgar conducted himself more seriously. He shunned the society of his former friends and began to devote himself to reading, meditation and other useful practices. But gradually, through human frailty, his determination grew cold. Then came the news of the death of the Emperor Charlemagne and the thought of how the power and influence of this great ruler was but a shadow in the grave of Aachen impressed itself deeply on the mind of Ansgar. The meaning of death struck him so forcibly that he devoted himself henceforth entirely to the service of God by prayer, vigils and fasting.

His vocation to the monastic life was confirmed by another vision. He saw, as it seemed, his soul depart from his body, whence it was conducted by St. Peter and John the Baptist into a dark and suffocating place, which he knew to be Purgatory. He was led through this space into a brilliant brightness before the immense majesty of God. While celestial sweetness flooded his soul he heard a voice proceeding from the throne: "Go, and return with the martyr's crown." Some time after Ansgar had put on the Benedictine habit, God honored and consoled him by a third vision. As he was at prayer one day and just about to rise he beheld the Saviour, with the splendor of the Divinity in His eyes and radiant as a flame of fire, coming through the door of the church. The young monk ran forward and fell at His feet. Christ bade him rise and confess his sins. When he had finished his confession, the Lord absolved him with these words: "Look up to Me and behold Him who takes away the sins of the world: so I absolve you from all your sins, faults and imperfections!"

Ansgar was now made professor at the monastery school and shortly after was ordained to the holy priesthood. Later, when the daughter house of (new) Corvey was founded in Westphalia (Saxony), on the west bank of the Weser, Ansgar, with a little company of monks, was removed to the new monastic outpost. At Corvey he worked under the eye of the abbot Wala, one of the most illustrious lights of that monastery. The time was fast approaching for the young monk to become the apostle of the North. Divine Providence was also guiding events in another direction. Harold, the pagan king of the Danes, had come to the court of the Emperor Lewis the Pious on political matters, and there signifying his desire to become a Christian, he, with his retinue, was

baptized in the city of Metz. This was in the year 826. Harold promised then that if Lewis would protect him in his Danish kingdom he in turn would aid in the conversion of his entire nation to the faith. The abbot Wala decided that young Ansgar was the best man to accompany the king into Denmark, and nominated him as the fittest to preach the Gospel to the heathen Danes. Word of this appointment reached Ansgar, and immediately he discerned the call of God. But difficulties and obstacles lay in his path; yet, no matter how great in size or various in kind, his courage was grounded fast in the Lord. "It was more than daring; it was a supernaturally strong and an enduring, heroic courage imbedded in the character of Ansgar that was to enable him to fulfill his office as apostle of the North." After he had been strengthened for his apostolic mission by prayer and pious recollection, he and Autbert, the prior of (new) Corvey, journeyed with King Harold into the new missionary country.

The two monks had departed with King Harold from the banks of the Rhine, and now after a safe journey they entered Denmark. They stopped at Schleswig, in the southern part of the Scandinavian world, and made this place the seat of their first missionary activity. Here they labored with the blessings of God upon their efforts; they taught the faith, baptized the natives and founded a school for Christian education. About this time ambassadors from Sweden came to the Emperor, Lewis, asking that Christianity be preached in Sweden, where the nucleus of a church, consisting of Christian slaves and tradesmen, already existed. But the dangers of a mission to the barbaric Northmen of Sweden were far more perilous than those among the Danes had been. The Emperor, however, remembered Ansgar and summoned the missionary before him. The holy zeal of this young apostle, like that of the first Apostles, knew no terrors of land or sea where God's work was in question. Ansgar was chosen then to bring the Gospel to Sweden, and as soon as he had named a representative to carry on the work in Denmark, he and Witmar, a brother monk of (old) Corbie, in a company of tradespeople set out for Sweden. They arrived there in 829. But their journey was full of hardships and trials. While at sea between Denmark and Sweden they fell in with pirates. The vikings robbed them of all their possessions and they were fortunate to reach land with their lives. Most sorrowful of their losses was that of forty books which they had collected at great trouble for the mission. The story of their journey reads like St. Paul's to Rome, with its hardships and privations. In excessive misery they wandered through this unknown land, finding rest and harbor at last in the town of Birka, where the native king Björn "showed them no small courtesy," receiving them as

friends. Birka was a port town and the commercial centre of Sweden. It was situated on Lake Mälär, near the present city of Stockholm. Its inhabitants were largely rich merchants and Christian slaves, who hailed the news of the missionaries' arrival with great joy. Within a short time Ansgar had converted many of the natives, among them one of the most distinguished men of the kingdom, Heriger, who later built the first Christian church in Sweden.

After the mission in Sweden was well under way Ansgar returned to Germany to receive the coöperation of the good Emperor. He wished to extend the work and establish it on a firmer basis, but more missionaries and greater ecclesiastical jurisdiction for himself were needed for its success. The favorable account of the progress of the mission, which Ansgar gave at the Imperial Diet of Aachen, determined Lewis to establish a Bishopric in Northern Germany. Hamburg was excellently located to become the centre of the northern missions, so it was selected as the see of the new Bishopric, and Ansgar was consecrated its first incumbent. But before he assumed the duties of this office he journeyed to Rome, as St. Boniface had done before him, to receive further instructions and more special powers from the Pope. Gregory IV. received him graciously, imparted to him most timely advice, gave him the Archbishop's pallium and put into his hands the same power for the North that Gregory III. had given St. Boniface for Germany. Ansgar, now Archbishop of Hamburg and Papal Legate to the North, left Rome for his far-distant mission field. Hamburg, which was formerly only a little, unknown town, grew rapidly as the mother church of Denmark, Sweden and Norway into a city of considerable rank. This rapid growth is attributable to the extensive and ceaseless labors of Ansgar; his work merits for him the title of "Real Founder of the City of Hamburg."

The first care of the new Archbishop was the erection of a suitable church. By his untiring efforts, which were not unsupported by the Emperor, St. Peter's Cathedral was soon erected in Hamburg. He also received money from other friends, and by a wise use of this he was able to build a monastery and a seminary adjoining the Cathedral. He bought boys and young men from slavery, as Gregory the Great once had done, and educated them priests and missionaries, who later preached the Christian faith successfully in the heathen countries of the North. Though strangers and foreigners to these nations, they had become familiar during their captivity with the country and with national customs. In a short time Ansgar had the great joy to be able to send these fresh and zealous ambassadors of the faith to all parts of the North. The night of heathenism, which till then had darkened the country, was

being pierced everywhere by the light rays of the Gospel. Once this light had begun to illumine the North, Ansgar saw to it that it was not extinguished. He set out in person to minister to the isolated missions, founded new monasteries and churches and consecrated them, preached the saving doctrines of Christianity to the people, and before he left one mission to go to the next one he prepared all things for its future needs. His life as Bishop was an inspiration to all who saw him; it was a source of strength against the day of persecution that was soon to follow.

After the unwearied labors of thirteen years Ansgar could finally trust that his work at Hamburg had been firmly established. But there arose a storm of destruction, and quickly in 845 it had shattered all his hopes, if not his courage. Unwarned, the inhabitants of Hamburg were surprised when six hundred pirate ships of the Danes were seen ascending the Elbe and making against their city. None of the population, except Ansgar, was prepared to withstand an attack. In vain did Ansgar strive to stir the people to a bold resistance. The wild barbarians swept into Hamburg with overpowering force. With impetuous greed they filled their boats with the city's treasures, and what ever they could not carry off they reduced to ashes. Within two days the vikings had made Hamburg a desolation. Ansgar emerged from the ruins at the last moment, but with all his heroic work he could save only a few treasures. He was left unprotected. Lewis the Pious, from whom he might have expected some help, had died in 840, five years before the destruction of Hamburg. The successors of Lewis were too greatly occupied in internal strifes to offer him any aid. And the neighboring Bishop of Bremen, with whom Ansgar finally sought protection, was unwilling to help him because of an unchristian feeling of jealousy which he held towards the Archbishop of Hamburg. Still Ansgar did not lose courage. This fortitude was well rewarded when a noble lady, Ikia, made him a gift of the estate of Ramsloh, three miles south of Hamburg. Upon this land he built a new monastery and began to direct the reconstruction of the city of Hamburg and the missions of his diocese.

But God had another reward in store for this heroic apostle. Ludwig the German, the most favorably disposed of Lewis the Pious' sons, now took the Archbishop under his protection. In the same year the Bishop of Bremen died. Shortly after Pope Nicholas I. and the Emperor united the Diocese of Bremen to the Archdiocese of Hamburg, and Ansgar was given jurisdiction over both. This appointment put ampler means than before at his disposal. In Hamburg St. Peter's Cathedral was soon rebuilt, with a new monastery and school. It was not long before the town became as flourishing as it had ever been. But Ansgar kept his

permanent see at Bremen, because that city was less open to the piratical raids of the Northmen. From Bremen he could once more direct his purpose and energy to the reconstruction of the Northern missions, which had suffered heavily in the disasters of the previous year. He was also favored by Ludwig the German, who made him imperial envoy to Eric, King of the Danes. Ansgar made use of his ecclesiastical and recent secular power to prepare the King and his people to receive Christianity. Churches were erected throughout Denmark and priests were appointed to take charge of the fast growing numbers of Christians. But when King Eric fell in battle, and when a younger Eric, a zealot of paganism, ascended the throne, it seemed that an evil day had come for the Church in Denmark. Ansgar, however, made another journey to Denmark and pleaded his cause before the pagan King. By his word and venerable appearance he persuaded the King to grant Christians full liberty to practice their religion and come to church at the ringing of the church bells. It was a great triumph for Ansgar, since the heathen Danes were a superstitious lot and feared that church bells would cast a Christian spell over the people.

Urgent as was the need of Ansgar in Denmark, his absence was even more felt in Sweden. In Birka the pagans began an insurrection, destroyed the church of the Christians and drove Autbert, whom Ansgar had appointed Bishop of Birka, out of the country. Only noble Heriger, who had been one of Ansgar's first converts in Sweden, remained loyal. And he, now at death's door, had not seen a priest in seven years. This went deep to the heart of Ansgar. As soon as he could he sent the priest Arigar to Heriger, whom he prepared for a pious death. Arigar returned to Germany because of the unfavorable conditions in Sweden. As the difficulties mounted higher, Ansgar grew firmer in the execution of his work.

About this time, 853, Ludwig the German commissioned Ansgar to act as his envoy to Olaf, King of Sweden. The dignity in which Ansgar came as well as his personal character won him a friendly reception at the hands of the pagan King. His first desire was that the Christians of Sweden should enjoy full liberty before the law to practice their religion. Olaf called a general council of the people to decide the question. Due to the wise and prudent persuasion of Ansgar, the assembly adopted the following resolution of toleration: "The inhabitants of Sweden are free to become Christians or to remain pagans." This surprising ruling was most satisfactory to Christianity. Churches were rebuilt in Birka, pastors appointed to take charge of them, and the Christian faith preached to the people with astonishing results.

After the restoration of Birka, Ansgar journeyed forth with untiring zeal to care for the faithful who were scattered in every

part of his diocese. Through his efforts the Christian Church daily increased in numbers, new churches and monasteries were built, fresh missionaries were sent forth in every direction, and Ansgar everywhere followed after these sowers of the good seed to establish ecclesiastical order or renew the spirit of that order where it had weakened. Ansgar reported the happy results of his journeys to the Pope, Nicholas I., and to the Emperor. So great was Nicholas' joy and his confidence in the work of Ansgar that in 858 he ratified the action of the former Pope in giving the Archbishop united jurisdiction over Hamburg and Bremen and at the same time decreed that the two sees be united permanently. In a letter to Ansgar the Pope encouraged him to walk in the way of virtue: "Let your life be an example to those under your charge; let not your heart be lifted up to pride in success, nor let it be cast down in failure. The evil-minded should find in you an opponent, the good a benefactor. Never let strange cunning move you to destroy the innocent, no favor to protect the guilty. Be a consolation to oppressed widows and orphans. Behold, my dear brother, if you fulfill these duties you render yourself worthy of the priesthood."

These words of fatherly advice found their perfection in the life of Ansgar. From the day of his entrance into the Order of St. Benedict he had led the most rigorous life of a monk. Day and night he wore a hair shirt next to his skin. His ordinary food was bread and water. The few hours of sleep he allowed himself each night were spent on a hard bed; the remaining hours he passed in prayer and pious contemplation. Despite these austerities he was tirelessly active during the day in the many duties of his holy office and in every work of Christian love and charity. His zeal went out especially to the Christian slaves. He bought many of them from the woes of their bondage and many others were freed when he sternly rebuked their masters. In those days kidnaping and slave-trade was a favorite business of the Northmen. What wonder, then, that his services in this Christian work of charity should be considered truly remarkable? In Bremen he founded a hospital for the poor sick, whom he was happy to serve with his own hands, washing their feet, preparing the table for them and reaching them their food.

His most ardent wish was to die a martyr for Christ. But this desire was not to be granted him, and in his humility he laid the cause of his own sins. But his life was more pleasing to divine wisdom because thus he daily became a martyr for Christ.

On February 3, 865, Ansgar died. His last words were those touching lines of the Scriptures: "Lord, remember me in your great mercy and in your great goodness!" and "God be merciful to me a

sinner!" and "Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit." The story of St. Ansgar is like that of a "crowd of unknown saints whose names fill the calendars and live, some of them, only in the titles of our churches." The Church solemnizes the memory of St. Ansgar as saint and martyr on the date of his death, February the third.

G. D. S.

RELIGIOUS PROCESSIONS IN CATHOLIC LANDS.

ONE of the great features of life in Continental Europe most striking to travelers from the United States was the number and variety of religious processions in Catholic countries. The suggestive banners, the rich statues, the smoke of incense, the glittering vestments of the Bishop, priests and chanters—all combined to form a spectacle new to our colder and more practical temperament. Each country had its own peculiarities, its refined taste or deplorable want of taste; or even where taste prevailed in the cultivated classes, the less tutored mind of the lower orders demanded what pleased them. The era of these grand religious processions is passing rapidly away, due to the hostile civil laws, which boasts of its regard for the consciences of *all* its citizens—except the consciences of those who adhere to the faith of their fathers. France, Spain, Germany and finally Italy have prohibited or limited them so that they now belong rather to the domain of history than to that of actual life. Religious processions of the kind to which we have just referred are generally prompted by devotion to the Blessed Virgin, which always awakens great enthusiasm, or by faith in the Real Presence, and are always manifestations of belief and earnestness. Religious processions date back to a very remote period. The translation of the Ark among the Hebrews is an early instance of a procession. Here David “gathered together all the chosen men of Israel, thirty thousand . . . and went with them to fetch the Ark of God . . . and the tabernacle of the covenant, and all the vessels of the sanctuary.” (II. and III. Kings.) In the time of Julian the Apostate there was a solemn procession to transport the relics of Babylas the Martyr, as may be learned from the histories of that day. St. Ambrose and St. Augustine mention a famous procession in Milan at which they were present. St. Matthew in his Gospel describes Christ’s entry into Jerusalem, how “a very great multitude spread their garments in the way and others cut boughs from the trees and strewed them in His way. . . . Others took branches from the trees and went forth to meet Him.” May we not trace from this incident the custom of strewing flowers practiced to this day in processions of the Blessed Sacrament? To this day we have reminders of many processions of the Middle Ages in the performance of the Asperges at the parochial Mass and in the entrance to and departure of the clergy from the sanctuary. These, of course, are not formally recognized in liturgical books, but they are suggestive, nevertheless.

In Spanish America generally the processions have retained the

style of old Spain of arraying statues in robes, which to our taste would seem overloaded with gold embroidery and lace; and in some parts the Indians and the Negroes have introduced features of their own, which give the processions a strange commingling of the wild and barbaric with the mediæval. During the Christian persecutions of the first three centuries many were put to death for their faith, and when the persecutions were over the Christians sought out the remains of those who had suffered martyrdom and carried them in procession, singing hymns and psalms of thanksgiving, to their churches. The same was done when the relics were translated from one church to another. In more modern times when a Bishop officiated it was customary for his priests, deacons and subdeacons to go in procession to his house and escort him processionally to the church, chanting the psalms, etc., prescribed for such occasions. In times of great public calamity processions were made to the tombs of the saints and martyrs and to other holy places; prayers were offered up, and these were called litanies or supplications. When princes arrived in any city of their dominions it was customary to take them in procession to the principal church, and this was also done and is still done with the dead before the obsequies were performed. Some of these processions made no stop on the way; others again made what are called stations, as we shall see further on.

Processions are ordered in times of great calamities to excite the people to appease divine wrath by prayers, repentance and works of mercy. There are in Catholic countries more processions during the Easter time than at other times. In some places it is customary to carry little bells, which are rung continuously, so that those who are to receive the procession may be prepared for it and also that those who did not start out with it may join the ranks as the procession moves along. These little bells also precede the priest when on his way to attend the sick and dying. With these few introductory remarks concerning the early history and objects used in processions we shall invite the reader to accompany us to different countries of Europe and watch the religious processions as they pass before us.

The feast of the Blessed Sacrament, or Corpus Christi, was instituted by Pope Urban IV. by a Bull dated September 8, 1262, and confirmed by Pope Clement V. in the General Council of Vienna. Its object was to counteract the effect of those who denied the Real Presence. Berengarius, Archdeacon of Angers, being the first who made this denial, the day is kept with special solemnity in that city, but it is everywhere observed with all the pomp and splendor the Church can command. Towns, villages and cities vie with one another in surrounding it with renewed circumstances of beauty and

magnificence, so that in all Catholic countries it is one of the most joyous festivals of the whole year.

Processions being the natural expression of the human heart on all occasions of public joy and triumph, the feast of Corpus Christi affords a grand opportunity for such an expression. The Blessed Sacrament is carried in procession, with music and the chanting of hymns and psalms and every other demonstration of joy, gladness and veneration. The priests are clad in their richest vestments, the Blessed Sacrament is enclosed in a monstrance of gold or silver, frequently adorned with precious stones, under a canopy of embroidered silk or cloth of gold, and borne by the chief officers of State or the magistrates of the city. (Gabriel Garcia Moreno, one-time President of Ecuador, regarded it as a great privilege to be permitted to be one of the bearers of this canopy, and the assassin's steel found its way to his heart just after one of these processions.) Young girls dressed in white go before the clergy, strewing the way with flowers, and acolytes swing their silver censers filled with smoking incense. The faithful follow in holiday attire, the males carrying lighted candles, symbolizing the light of faith; the fronts of the houses and balconies along the route of the procession are hung with drapery or covered with flags and banners bearing religious devices and occasionally with garlands of flowers and evergreens.

In Rome the procession consists of vast numbers of the regular and secular clergy, the students of theological seminaries, the canons and other dignitaries of the basilicas and principal churches (each community being preceded by its own cross-bearer and banner); next follows the usual train of mitred abbots, Bishops, Archbishops, Patriarchs and Cardinals—such as are wont to precede the Sovereign Pontiff on all state occasions. Last of all comes the Holy Father himself, vested in a white satin cope trimmed with gold. He is borne upon the shoulders of men, under a canopy which is supported alternately by certain public officers and the members of a few privileged colleges. The Pope is not sitting as in ordinary functions, nor is he arrayed with all the insignia of his dignity as Chief Bishop of the Church and dispensing blessings as he goes. Now he is bending forward in an attitude of the deepest reverence and engaged in prayer and thanksgiving to the Author and Giver of all blessings, whom he bears in his hands under the appearance of bread. As the procession moves along, the multitude fall upon their knees, every head is uncovered, and all remain in silent adoration until it has passed. The scene is one that can never be forgotten by those who have witnessed it and who can understand the feeling of those who participate in it.

The same procession is repeated in other lands, but under circumstances widely different. The town of Gmunden, in upper Austria, is situated upon a lake of the same name and is surrounded by lofty mountains. Here the procession, leaving the village church, moves down the lake, and the clergy and faithful embark in barges and boats of different shapes and sizes. Over the principal of these barges a grand canopy is erected, under which we catch a glimpse of the altar. Another barge, also canopied, is reserved for the clergy and civil officers of the district. The different societies from the vicinity come in their barges, with banners up, bearing the effigies of their patron saints, and thus the solemn procession is rowed around the lake, the clergy and people singing hymns in praise of God, and their voices echoing and reëchoing from mountain to mountain find a response in the heart of the sick and aged mountaineer, who, unable to take part in the procession, joins it in spirit, and devoutly crossing himself, falls upon his knees and turns his heart to God. Funeral processions are conducted in the same manner.

In the distant wilds of Paraguay the procession of Corpus Christi is also clothed with all the splendor and magnificence available. The procession passes along under a series of triumphal arches formed from the green wood of the forest and erected at given intervals along the road. These arches are adorned with festoons of flowers and fruits; with the finest fish the poor natives have been able to catch; with the skins of wild beasts slaughtered in the chase, and with living birds, having just enough freedom allowed them to display the brilliant hues of their plumage. The poor natives have "neither silver nor gold, but what they have they freely give." Private dwellings, too, are adorned in a similar manner; the whole way is strewn with aromatic herbs and flowers, and among the leafy boughs of the arches and along the fronts of the houses are arranged, in every variety of form, a profusion of cakes and dulces made expressly for the occasion. These, immediately after the procession, are distributed among the sick and poor. In our own large cities we find customs not unlike this practiced by the poor Italians on their patronal feast days.

In some parts of France it is customary to make the procession on some day within the octave and move out into the open fields or to some commanding eminence; and from this point the Benediction is given to the whole surrounding country, after the chanting of the prescribed hymns. Sometimes these processions take place in the evenings—say about an hour after sunset. Let us imagine ourselves among the Pyrenees. The procession starts from a little village in the valley and winds its way up a conical-shaped

hill of considerable height, which rises abruptly out of the centre of a narrow plain. The villages on the surrounding heights are all illuminated and bonfires blaze on every hill-top. From the eminence on which we stand, more than a mile away, we watch the procession as it winds around the hill, until at last it forms a crown upon its summit and then disappears for a little while within the chapel that stands there. Presently the lights reappear; a sky-rocket shoots up into the air and the voice of the parish priest rings out in solemn chant. The Benediction is given amid the discharge of cannon, announcing it to all the inhabitants far and near, and every knee is bent.

The feast of Corpus Christi is celebrated all over the world, but there are other feasts which are not universal. Every country has its own patronal feast, which is celebrated according to the peculiar customs of the place. In Belgium patronal feasts are celebrated with great pomp and magnificence. The city of Ghent has a feast which is celebrated once in a century. It is the feast of St. Macaire. It was last celebrated in 1867, and his intercession was implored to preserve Belgium from pestilence, the cholera and other diseases which had desolated the country the year before. The shrine of St. Macaire is in the ancient Cathedral of St. Bavon. The procession in honor of this saint is well worth seeing, as it is perhaps the grandest and most imposing procession in Belgium.

On this occasion the streets are adorned with flags, the houses covered with green branches and flowers, balconies with blue, crimson and yellow velvet hangings, glittering with gold; all of this will give us some idea of the uniquely beautiful spectacle. The seminarians, the cures in surplice and ermine hanging from the left arm, the deans in copes, the canons of the cathedral, the Bishops of Namur, Liege, Bruges, Tournai, Geneva, Hebron and Ghent in cope and mitre, preceding the shrine of St. Macaire, borne by priests and surrounded by lighted tapers; next came the Apostolic Nuncio and finally His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines. All the Bishops give the episcopal benediction to the kneeling people, who reverently make the sign of the cross.

In Spain processions are very numerous. Every city, town or *aldea* has its patron saint, whose feast is celebrated with more or less splendor, according to the time, place and circumstances of the inhabitants. The feast of Corpus Christi is celebrated in the larger cities with all the pomp and display that characterizes the day in other countries, the only difference being the gorgeous and, to foreign eyes, very extravagant manner in which their saints and the Blessed Virgin, under her different titles, are arrayed. The romance

and imagination of Spain have rendered her ritual most poetic and picturesque. The Holy Week processions appear very strange to foreign eyes, but they are not intended to please the foreigner; they satisfy the people of the place because they express what the people want to express in their own way.

In one of these Holy Week processions we find a figure of Our Blessed Lord carrying His Cross and standing upon a platform borne upon the shoulders of a number of men. As we look upon it we are led to realize how the regal ideas which the Spaniard entertains regarding the King of Kings leads him, at the expense of good taste, in our eyes—and some of us might go so far as to say, at the expense of common sense—to carry his notions to extremes. We might forgive the angels that stand on either side of the Man of Sorrows, carrying their silver-mounted lanterns, but the dress of Our Redeemer on His way to Calvary, the roses that surround the aureola over His thorn-crowned head, and the Cross ornamented with silver, pearls and even precious stones, are things which the foreigner can scarcely pass over. But we must not forget that in the mind of the Spaniard that crown of thorns, that seamless garment and that Cross of death, which under the old régime were emblems of ignominy and shame, became through the sufferings of Christ the symbols of man's redemption. We make no objection to the cross on our chasubles being ornamented with silver and gold and precious stones, because we know they symbolize the triumph of the Cross. So the Spaniard loves to decorate his crosses even if his lack of good taste as we see it awakens in us emotions altogether different from those intended.

Another peculiarly Spanish procession occurs during the penitential season. At its head we see the *macero*, bearing the mace, the insignia of his office. Next come a number of ecclesiastics, wearing tall, pointed white head-dresses reaching down in front to the breast; two holes are made for the eyes, but the identity of the wearer is entirely concealed. (They remind us of the Roman confraternities for the burial of the dead.) These ecclesiastics carry banners bearing sacred devices. On either side of them marches a military guard of honor at "support arms," if not on the last three days of Holy Week; on these days all arms are "reversed." Between the double line of ecclesiastics, flanked by the guard of honor, comes the "Altar of the Crucifixion," borne on the heads of men who are concealed by the drapery surrounding the platform, and which hangs down to the ground. These are followed by the reverend clergy of various orders, the children of the parish strewing the way with flowers, the men of the parish societies

bearing long wax candles, and again more shrines, banners, etc. The balconies along the route of the procession are filled with reverent and dignified spectators reciting the prayers incident to the procession.

The ceremonies of Holy Week are exceedingly interesting in Spain, notwithstanding the to us dramatic manner in which they are carried out. In Sevilla, in the magnificent and world-renowned Cathedral, they are doubly so. On Wednesday of Holy Week the sacred edifice is crowded to witness the impressive ceremony of the "Rending of the White Veil," at the moment when the passage referring to the "rocks being rent" is chanted in the Gospel of the Passion. At Vespers the canons prostrate themselves before the altar and are covered with a black pall bearing the red cross. On this and the following days may be seen, both in the churches and in the streets, processions, representations of the awful and terrible events connected with the Passion. These representations, however strange they may appear to foreign eyes, are, nevertheless, when well performed, deeply impressive and solemn in the extreme. The processions are arranged in the most orderly manner, and men of the highest rank, of royal blood and of the noblest orders, do not hesitate to walk for hours through dusty, crowded streets, on three successive days, with the sole motive of doing honor to their Lord whose badge they wear.

The processions, after moving through the principal parts of the parish, almost always end by entering the cathedral and stopping for a few moments in the open space between the altar and the choir. The brilliant light shed by the innumerable wax candles has the effect of toning down what, in the sunshine, appeared too gaudy. Among the principal scenes represented on moving platforms may be mentioned "The Holy Infancy," the "Bearing of the Cross," the "Descent from the Cross," and finally the catafalque, upon which reposes a wax figure of the "Dead Christ." We shall have occasion to speak of this latter representation further on. There are not wanting those from English-speaking countries, especially, who are very ready to criticize these representations, but if they were better understood, in our own country, the writer of this article would never have been horrified as he was at our great Centennial Exhibition, in 1876. He was in the Belgian department looking at some beautifully carved figures in wood. While looking at a "Pieta," a group of well-dressed, prosperous-looking ladies and gentlemen stopped for a moment, and after looking at the "Pieta" one of the ladies, in a sort of mystified manner, exclaimed, pointing

to the Dead Christ: "Who is that Man?" This in an enlightened country. Had this been told us we could not have believed it.

The Holy Week processions and ceremonies at the venerable Cathedral of San Cristobal de la Habana, at the capital of the Cuban Republic, are not unlike those in the mother country. The same representations of the Passion of Our Blessed Redeemer are to be seen. On Holy Thursday, after the "Gloria in excelsis," the great and special period of mourning commences. No horse or vehicle is (or was) allowed in the street after 10 o'clock in the morning, unless used to convey a physician to some very sick patient, in bad weather. The Spaniard, before the Republic at least, in his full dress, with all the decorations and insignia of his position, went with his family to visit his parish church, on foot; the Cuban did the same thing, in full dress. Soldiers marched with reversed arms, to the tap of muffled drums; those performing guard duty likewise carry reversed arms while on duty. The musical instruments are heard in the home, the street or the church. In former days the Captain General and his staff *walked* to and from the church. On Good Friday a spirit of mourning pervades the city. Houses and balconies are draped in black, and black draperies cover altar and pulpit in the church. Ladies wear black or violet dresses, and their only ornaments, if any, are jets. It is one of the ceremonies of the day to perform part of the Passion. The high altar is concealed by drapery, and in its place three crosses are erected, and on them are attached life-sized figures of Our Saviour and the two thieves. The face of the penitent thief is generally turned toward the Master, as if asking forgiveness—the other face, upon which a look of despair is plainly discernible, is turned the other way. At the proper time the priest who is to preach the Passion sermon ascends the pulpit, and as he progresses in his sermon the nails are extracted from the sacred hands and feet, and the body is lowered from the Cross. At this moment the preacher calls out to his vast congregation: "Llorad lagrimas de sangre; por vos muria!" ("Weep tears of blood; for you He died.") The clergy now withdraw for a time, and the Hermanos de la Soledad come forward and take charge of the body, which is placed upon a magnificent canopied catafalque, which rests upon a trestle concealed by black velvet drapery, dotted with silver stars. The upper portion of this catafalque is decorated with white and violet flowers. The image of the Dead Christ is covered with a sort of silver cloth covering, leaving the head and feet exposed. Close by is another platform (or float) also draped with black velvet. Upon this are the figures of the Mater Dolorosa, sustained in the arms of St. John, the Beloved Disciple.

The bier, followed by the figures of the Mater Dolorosa and St. John, is carried in procession by the Hermanos de la Soledad. This is called "Le Procesion del Entierro" (Procession of the Interment). It is escorted by one or more regiments of soldiers in full uniform, with reversed arms and their hats thrown back and hanging on the back of their necks by a strap around the chin. Bands of music accompany the procession playing mournful strains, and thousands of people of every walk of life, nobles, citizens and slaves, participate in this solemn and impressive demonstration. Little girls walk along throwing rose-leaves and flowers along the street, while boys and men (among whom was once the writer of this article) carry long tapers in their hands. The houses along the route of the procession are draped in mourning; a solemn stillness pervades the entire city; the busy hum of business is suspended; the blacksmith's hammer lies idly on his anvil. The procession having made its usual course returns to the Cathedral, where the statues are solemnly returned to their places. The Dead Christ lies just inside the sanctuary gates, and thousands come during the remainder of the afternoon and evening to perform their acts of prayer and adoration.

Holy Saturday, called Sabado de Gloria, dawns upon the city, and soon the churches are again filled with worshipers. The new fire is lighted; the grains of incense are placed in the Paschal candle; the prophecies are read, and the usual procession of the clergy moves to the fonts to bless the "new water"—and now the celebrant and his assistants repair to the altar to begin the Mass of the day. Thus far no sound has been heard save the solemn chant of the priests as they performed the ceremonies of the day; but now the voice of the priest is heard intoning the "Gloria in excelsis," and immediately the veils fall from before paintings and statues; the doors of the cathedral burst open and admit a flood of light; the bells in the tower announce the glad tidings, and a response comes booming over the bay from the cannons in the Morro Castle; drums beat on every side, the soldiers' arms are no longer "reversed;" the blacksmith, who has been standing by his anvil, hammer in hand, waiting for the cathedral bell to announce the end of the penitential season, now lustily drives the sparks from the red-hot iron; the calesero and the cassetero, already mounted, at the first stroke of the bell, burst open the doors and rush into the now busy street, to the confusion of which the inevitable *enfant terrible* contributes his share by a discharge of firecrackers. Every face wears a look of joy and happiness. The Mass continues to the end, and after receiving the episcopal benediction the faithful return to their homes to prepare for the celebration of Easter. This

is the way Holy Week was celebrated in Havana years ago; the outdoor ceremonies are modified to-day.

Let us now visit Venice, that beautiful "City of the Sea." It contains many splendid churches, but the most magnificent of all is the Cathedral of San Marco, for many years the loved Cathedral of the late holy Pontiff, Pope Pius X. We come upon it on the morning of April 25, the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, the patron saint of the city. The vast structure is thronged with worshipers. The Solemn Pontifical Mass is celebrated by the venerable Patriarch, and then follows the grand processions, moving from the vast basilica down through the Piazza di San Marco and along some of the principal streets. We take our place in a gondola on the opposite side, and thus gain an uninterrupted view of the procession as it passes along. Apart from the local emblems on the banners and the altars borne along, it does not differ materially from similar processions in other parts of Europe. The crossbearer is attended by the usual acolytes; the clergy of different orders move along with stately and reverent tread, bearing immense torches in their hands; others carry banners bearing the effigy of the saint whose feast is being celebrated and those of other saints held in special veneration by the Venetians. At last come the higher clergy in their gorgeous vestments, and finally the venerable Patriarch, surrounded by his vicars, chapter, canons, etc. His hand is raised in benediction over his people. The houses along the route of the procession are gayly decorated with flags and banners bearing crosses or other religious devices. Some of these are stretched across the canal or streets. From the position we occupy the scene before us is strikingly picturesque and impressive. On the opposite side of the canal the grand procession moves along chanting litanies and hymns; over us countless banners are waving in the sunlight; around us gondolas of every description, decorated with drapery and streamers, are filled with gayly dressed ladies and gentlemen, while far up the canal our eyes rest on the Rialto, the most magnificent bridge in Venice.

Besides the many grand processions of a general character, and participated in by clergy and laity of a certain parish, or of several parishes combined, there are in Catholic countries many processions of a more private nature, but none the less interesting and impressive. There is in Rome and in other cities also a confraternity of laymen who bury the dead who die in the hospital of the Fathers of the Santo Spirito. Every evening, just before sunset, they go from different parts of Rome, no matter how unfavorable the weather may be, to carry away the dead, and they go in pro-

cession from the hospital to the cemetery, which is at some distance away. They move with slow and solemn tread, preceded by a cross, and then follow the priest and the hearse or bier—more frequently the latter. They chant the “Miserere” and recite prayers for the dead as they march along. It is a most solemn sight to see such a procession winding around the Coliseum or ascending the Janiculum Hill as the shades of night begin to fall over the domes and towers of the grand old city of Rome. In that solemn procession are men of all classes of society—brethren whose identity is entirely concealed by long robes and pointed headdresses with two holes cut in them for the eyes. These brethren are the servants of the dead and crave no recognition from the living.

In most of the countries of Europe elaborate religious processions have been abandoned because of the opposition made against them by the civil authorities. Perhaps these processions contributed too much in keeping alive in the people a knowledge, to a certain extent at least, of events in the Christian life which are at variance with “modern” ideas. The fact remains that the religious procession is largely a thing of the past.

MARC F. VALLETTE.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST ACCORDING TO CATHOLIC DOCTRINE.

(By the Author of "The Chronology of Christ.")

IN THE sixth century a learned and holy priest, Dionysius the Little, proposed the Christian era. At the time the chronology of the life of Christ had already become a very hard problem. Dionysius interpreted Christian tradition as asserting that the Incarnation of Christ took place on Friday, March 25, and that His death also occurred on March 25. By harmonizing the best he could these statements of Christian tradition with the evidence of the Jewish calendar, Dionysius fixed A. D. 1 as the supposed date of Christ's birth and he fixed the time of Christ's death as taking place in A. D. 34. In the eighth century Beda emphasized the fact that Jesus truly died on Friday, and that He certainly died on March 25. This doctor also made plain that in the year of A. D. 34 the 25th of March did not occur on Friday. Notwithstanding this conflicting evidence, Beda strongly maintained and even confirmed with new arguments the conclusions reached by Dionysius. The great learning, the prudence and the holiness of Beda are beyond doubt. And the Church adopted on the authority of Beda the theory of Dionysius. Of course the Church knew from Beda that this arrangement of the chronology of Christ's life carried with it an insurmountable difficulty and yet adopted these conclusions not as absolutely true, but as those which were pronounced by the best human effort. This chronology appeared afterwards to be a mistaken one. Therefore in the sixteenth century the Pope, Gregory XIII., charged Baronio, by the aid of study and research, to fix the true historical chronology of the life of Christ.

This highly celebrated historian, Baronio, on an historical ground fixed B. C. 2 as being the date of Christ's birth and A. D. 33 as being the date of His death. The Pope knew that he had appointed the most learned and most prudent historian of the time, and he had a right to accept the above said conclusions as being wise and prudent. To-day the Church knows that the conclusions of the said historian were mistaken. Every Christian scholar so affirms, and the Church cannot and does not reject the unanimous claims of the men of science. Yet all scholars know that something is still wrong with the chronology of the life of Christ, but the foremost scholars have proved unable to define in this chronology what is wrong and what is the historical truth. Consequently, the Church is powerless to replace

the mistaken dates dictated by the illustrious historian, Baronio, in the sixteenth century, and every year she cannot help repeating in our cathedrals that Jesus was born in the year of Rome 752. Hence we can see that the ignorance professed by scholars in this matter is a true cross to the Church. By acknowledging that Baronio gave mistaken conclusions, a real burden has been laid upon the Church, and by not making greater efforts to attain a satisfactory and definite solution of this problem the Church still continues to be annoyed by this uncertainty.

The Church is highly interested in the chronology of the life of Christ. This chronology is given in the Gospel. The mass of believers is not capable of well understanding that this chronology depends from profane history also. Believers want to know this chronology from the teaching Church, and they would be scandalized by hearing of a professed ignorance or of different opinions in this matter. This fact may explain why the Popes have selected the most trustworthy conclusions of Beda first and of Baronio afterwards and have imposed them to the Church. The "Roman Martyrologium" is published directly by order of the Popes. The actual editions are "Jussu Benedicti PP. XIV." The chronology of Christ given in the "Roman Martyrologium" is strictly obliging "per se." Because of the progress of historical researches, Catholic scholars have proved unable to defend any longer the conclusions of Baronio. The Popes have not complained, and this is the reason why we are free to hold different opinions.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE GOSPEL.

In treating of the chronology of Christ's life Catholic scholars to-day seem to forget that chronological statements in the Gospel are inspired truths. These chronological statements are to be interpreted with the reverence and the carefulness due to the Word of God and according to the accepted rules of interpretation of the Holy Bible. St. Augustine¹ teaches that the words of the Holy Bible, unless they happen to appear absurd, must be interpreted according to their literal and obvious meaning. This is an accepted rule of Biblical interpretation and is urged by the authority of Pope Leo XIII. "A litterali et velut obvio sensu minime descendendum, nisi qua eum vel ratio tenere prohibeat vel necessitas cogat dimittere."² If the literal and obvious interpretation of a passage of the Holy Bible is even possible, it must be considered also true, and the Catholic interpreter should not

¹ De Gen. ad litt., Book VIII., chapter vii., 13.

² Enciclica Providentissimus Deus.

hesitate to pronounce it to be so. Especially when this literal interpretation is also the unanimous interpretation of the Fathers of the Church. It is claimed by some modern scholars that at the time of Christ's birth Cyrenius was possibly the captain of an army in Syria. But this is ridiculous and wrong. It is ridiculous, for mere possibilities in history cannot be taken for proof. But it is also against the account of the Gospel. We do not read the term of captain in the Gospel. St. Luke uses not a noun, but an active verb with its object. Cyrenius was "governing Syria." This can only be said of the real governor of Syria. A mere captain of the army in Syria cannot be said to have been governing the people of Syria.

Again, it is generally supposed to be impossible to interpret according to its obvious meaning the expression "Annas the high priest" in the Acts iv., 6. From this it is argued that we should not interpret according to its obvious meaning that expression of the Gospel, "Under the high priests Annas and Caiphas." But this inference is illogical and false. Also the two expressions are of a different nature. In the Acts St. Luke names Annas, together with several other Jews, as being the prominent men who were taking part in the council which opposed the Apostles. In the Gospel, however, Annas is only named in order to specify the time of the preaching of the Baptist. If it be supposed that Annas was not actually the high priest, then the Gospel's statement cannot be understood. While in the account given in the Acts the adding of the title of high priest is used by St. Luke to distinguish this Annas the Father from his homonymous son. Josephus does the same thing in the following passages: "But as for the (ex) high priest Anania . . . he cultivated the friendship of Albinus, and of the (actual) high priest (Jesus) by making them presents . . . Eleazar was the son of Ananus, the (ex) high priest."³ The only question in the Acts is why St. Luke names Annas as the ex-high priest, overlooking him who was actually high priest. This question, however, is of little importance. In a work like that written by Josephus we cannot expect the author to tell everything. It is possible that Annas was called to act as high priest during some interval between the deposing of Caiphas and the election of Jonathan. And if besides the works of Josephus any other document exist in regard to Jewish high priests, it would be well to prove correct this hypothesis. If no other document exists, the hypothesis does not hold. It would be ridiculous to substitute imagination for history.

³Ant. Book XX., chapter ix., sections 2, 3.

What we can affirm to be probably or obviously understood in this passage of the Acts is that for one reason or another the actual high priest was not present, and Annas, on this occasion, was chosen to lead the council.

Some say that in the Gospel the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius is counted as being fifteen years from the time when he first received the administration of the provinces. This, however is a mere hypothesis. If so, it is only good as a prompter of further research. But after further research has proved to be vain, to hold as a belief that which is merely an hypothesis is ludicrous. Besides, the hypothesis itself is singular. If accepted, it would require that an expression used in the Gospel would have a meaning that in no other document and in no other book would be attached to it. Then this expression, the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, would mean one thing for the first three years and a different thing for the remaining twelve years. "This fifteenth year is most likely to be reckoned from the time when this prince (Tiberius) was associated with Augustus in the government of the Empire, and consequently it corresponds to the year 779 U. C. (A. D. 26.)"⁴ We quote from Rev. Father Gigot because we have his excellent book at hand. Other scholars have used similar expressions.

No doubt it would be less irreverent to the account of the Gospel to count the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius from the time when he was associated with Augustus in the government of the empire rather than from the time when Tiberius first received a partial administration of several provinces. But to-day historical data are at hand and certain chronological mistakes should not be repeated. Augustus of his own will and act associated with himself in the government of the empire and in the sharing of the title of Cæsar, Tiberius. This happened at the death of Agrippa, as early as 12 B. C. Augustus made the Roman Senate bestow upon Tiberius the "Proconsolare imperium" in B. C. 8 and the tribunician authority in B. C. 6, thereby compelling the Senate to acknowledge Tiberius as a colleague of Augustus and providing Tiberius with special means of exercising his authority. St. Luke states that "Jesus advanced in wisdom and age and grace with God and men in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius." (Luke ii., 52; iii., 1.) We are here obliged merely to hold as correct those copies of the third Gospel in which the disjunctive word "dè" is omitted.⁵ In our own pamphlet, entitled "Chronology of the Life of Christ," we have shown that these

⁴ Rev. F. E. Gigot, D. D., "Outlines of New Testament History."

words, "Jesus advanced in wisdom and age and grace with God and men," apply well (perhaps necessarily) to Christ's ministry. St. Luke affirms, then, in other words, that Jesus in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius advanced in His preaching and in His working miracles. History proves this to have been literally true. Our rendering then of this passage under consideration is proved to be literal and correct. By saying that Jesus "advanced" in His ministry in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, St. Luke clearly and necessarily implies that Jesus had at a previous time begun that ministry. When one is said to be advancing in any work it is self-evident that he must already have commenced the work alluded to.

When using the above expression St. Luke neither asserts nor does he deny as to whether Jesus had preached many years before the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius. That Christ had already preached many years does not appear from this passage of St. Luke. But we find in the same Gospel (Luke iii., 23) the fact recorded that Jesus was thirty years of age at the beginning of His ministry. Furthermore, we find the beginning of our Lord's ministry to be connected with the preaching of the Baptist, which occurred at the time when Annas was high priest. Again, in the expression that Jesus "advanced" in His ministry in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, St. Luke does not assert that Jesus advanced during the entire fifteenth year, nor does the Evangelist state whether after this year Jesus still continued to advance. If we translate with the Latin Vulgate that Jesus "was advancing" in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, then the Evangelist does not state whether during this year Jesus also accomplished His ministry and died. However, the English translation that "Jesus advanced" in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius implies that Christ's ministry reached its apogee in this year, and consequently Christ's death and resurrection took place in the same year.

In our pamphlet, referred to above, we made a mistake when we affirmed that the very accomplishment of Christ's ministry should not be implied in the word "advancing." Of a student who is very near to get his diploma we do not say that he is still advancing in his studies. The reason is that towards the end a student is supposed to review his studies rather than to advance in the same. We do not say that an army is advancing towards a city when they have almost reached the place. The reason is that to advance towards a city is supposed to be at a distance

⁵ Browne, "*Ordo Saeculorum*," page 92.

Christ's ministry is still its advancing and its apogee. The death from it. In our case, however, the very accomplishment of our Lord is also a most effective teaching and a supreme act of grace. Moreover, the teaching of Christ and His acts of love continued until His glorious ascension into heaven. It may be objected here that our connecting the first verse of the third chapter with the fifty-second verse of the second chapter of St. Luke's Gospel is new and contrary to the interpretation of the Fathers of the Church, who connected this first verse of the third chapter with the other verses of the same chapter. Provided that Jesus was thirty years of age (Luke iii., 23) and provided (as was believed by the Fathers) that he was baptized during the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, then the connecting of the first verse of the third chapter with the following verses of the same chapter is obvious and necessary. And this is exactly what the Fathers did. Scholars agree to-day, however, that the baptism of Jesus had taken place before the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius. Hence it becomes absurd to connect this date with the following verses in the third chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, which refer to the preaching of the Baptist and his baptism of Jesus. As a consequence of this state of affairs, some scholars have supposed that the expression, "the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar," when used by St. Luke, did not mean what the words obviously assert. This conclusion certainly is not one arrived at by the Fathers. It is against their teaching and their practice. We connect this first verse of the third chapter with the preceding verse, fifty-second, of the second chapter. It is true that this has not been done by the Fathers. But we are confronted with a new problem. And what we do is in obvious harmony with their teaching. By taking any other course we should reject the evident meaning of the words. Again, it may be objected that our interpretation is not an obvious one. This objection, however, is not well taken, unless, indeed, the objector proposes to furnish a more accurate and obvious rendition of the passage. The fact is that underlying this objection to our interpretation there is a genuine misunderstanding.

The doctrine of the Fathers is not that the sacred writer is requested to use what in his case we should consider to be the most obvious expression. If the Evangelist has used an expression which proves hard to our understanding we cannot change his expression. "*Commentatoris officium, non quid ipse velit, sed quid sentiat ille quem interpretetur, exponere.*"⁶ We are requested

⁶ Pope Leo XIII., *loc. cit.*

to interpret according to the literal and obvious meaning of the words actually used by the Evangelist. If the expression does not appear clear we cannot help. "Diffitendum non est religiosa quadam obscuritate sacros libros involvi."⁷ Yet we shall try to understand better what St. Luke means to say, "In locis quidem divinae scripturae qui expositionem certam et definitam adhuc desiderant, effici ita potest, ex suavi Dei providentis consilio, ut, quasi praeparato studio, iudicium Ecclesiae maturetur."⁸ It is a first attempt of the kind and we can only advance our modest opinion.

First, St. Luke says: "Herod added yet this above all, that he shut up John in prison. Now it came to pass when all the people were baptized that, Jesus also having been baptized and praying, heaven was opened." (Luke iii., 20, 21.) It cannot be meant here that the Baptist was in prison when Jesus was baptized by this same Baptist. Having referred to the high priests Annas and Caiphas in connection with the preaching of the Baptist, St. Luke did not intend to close the account of the preaching of John the Baptist until his account included the end of St. John's preaching and the time of Caiphas, the high priest. Second, it is understood that the baptism of Jesus, His forty days in the wilderness and His first fame (Luke iii., 21-38; iv., 1-15) were connected with the preaching of the Baptist. Now St. Luke abruptly speaks of Christ's ministry as if it were coincident with occurrences of a later period. The Evangelist writes: "He (Jesus) came to Nazareth . . . And all the synagogue were filled with rage . . . and dragged Him to the brow of the hill on which their city was built, that they might throw Him down headlong." (Luke iv., 16, 28, 29.) It was only toward the end of His ministry that Jesus would be likely to excite the rage of the people. And it looks as if St. Luke has given an actual sign that he starts to relate the last period of Christ's ministry. Third, according to the account given in the Gospel of St. Luke, Jesus does not appear to go on a preaching tour as far as Tyre and Sidon. From the fourteenth verse of the fourth chapter to the fiftieth verse of the ninth chapter St. Luke has used 275 verses in which to give an account of Christ's ministry in Galilee. From the fifty-first verse of the ninth chapter to the forty-fourth verse of the nineteenth chapter St. Luke tells the story of Christ's trip from Galilee to Jerusalem. He uses for this account 424 verses. Now the trip alluded to could not possibly have lasted for as long a period as

⁷ Pope Leo XIII., loc. cit.

⁸ Pope Leo XIII., loc. cit.

two months. Then St. Luke told the story of less than two months of Christ's ministry, and in doing so he gave the description in 424 verses, while the whole preceding account of Christ's ministry in Galilee occupied only 275 verses. In making this comparison we feel forced to conclude that St. Luke has described only several months of Christ's Galilean ministry. Since in the first verse of the third chapter St. Luke has expressly referred to Christ's ministry as advancing during the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, he may have meant to say that he intended to describe only several months of Christ's ministry, namely, that part of Christ's ministry which took place in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, from about September A. D. 28 to September A. D. 29, when Jesus died.

Fourth, St. Luke narrated facts, like the call of Levi (Luke v., 27-28), which certainly happened at the beginning of the ministry of Jesus. The manifest intention of referring to that part of Christ's ministry which occurred in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius does not prevent St. Luke from referring to events which in reality occurred at a much earlier period. It is with the Evangelist a matter of mental restriction. St. Luke does not really wish to record nothing of Christ's earlier ministry. He only intends to tell as much of Christ's ministry as our Lord was in the habit of accomplishing during several months. Fifth, we think that it is most logical to acknowledge this feature of St. Luke's Gospel. It was the best way and perhaps the only way of giving us a faithful picture of the manner in which Jesus used continuously to preach and work miracles, unless the sacred writer were to have related a full and minute account of Christ's full ministry. This latter method would have required the using of a book some fifty times as large as the present Gospel. Hence a less popular book. Sixth, this feature appears to be more or less common to all the four Gospels. When the fox had tried hard to reach some grapes and did not succeed, it concluded that the grapes were not good.

Provided profane history continued to force upon us the conclusion that Christ's ministry was of a short duration, we would be well excused in saying that we know this to be true from the Gospel itself. Conditions, however, have changed. The progress of the studies in profane history are destined to revenge the truthfulness of those very statements of the Gospel which had been misrepresented by that same history. And we can freely say that the argument from the Gospel of St. John to define the duration of Christ's ministry is at least a shame. The statement

of St. John that Jesus "would not go about in Judea because the Jews were seeking to kill Him" (John vii., 1) cannot mean that Jesus would not go to Jerusalem. In fact, St. John says immediately that Jesus went to the feast of the tabernacles, and even to the feast of the dedication, which He was not obliged to attend. If Jesus preached two entire years and the Gospel of St. John is exhaustive, then of six feasts of obligation in two years, Pass-over, Pentecost and Tabernacles, Jesus has missed three. The absence of Jesus from Jerusalem at a feast of obligation would be certainly noticed. The necessary consequence is that three times in two years Jesus has given scandal to His whole nation. *Abhorrent aures*. Hence it cannot be said that the Gospel of St. John is exhaustive. A better attention than usually given is deserved by the following passage of St. John: "The Jews therefore said to Him: 'Thou art not yet fifty years old. And hast Thou seen Abraham?'" (John viii., 57.) The Evangelist refers this expression to all those Jews that were present. Many individuals cannot conceive at the same time spontaneously the same foolishness. The expression is therefore truthful.

One may make the objection that there are evident contradictions in the Gospels, and many things are said by the Evangelists which appear to be obscure and enigmatic. If chronological statements in the Gospels were enigmatic, this should not after all prove new or hard. But if many things were enigmatic in the Gospels, it would not be our duty to multiply them. That impression, however, which conceives the Gospels to be enigmatic is false. Many contradictions are said to be in the Gospel which actually exist only in the minds of certain interpreters. It is commonly supposed that according to the account of Matthew and Mark, on the day of Christ's death darkness began at the sixth hour, while according to the Gospel of St. Luke the same darkness began "about" the sixth hour. Let us quote the Evangelists.

"From the sixth hour darkness fell upon all the land until the ninth hour." (Matthew xxvii., 45.) "When the sixth hour was come, darkness fell upon the whole land until the ninth hour." (Mark xv., 33.) "It was now about the sixth hour, and darkness came over the whole land, until the ninth hour." (Luke xxiii., 44.)

Now one can see that no inaccuracy can be proved here. In the Gospel of St. Luke the expression, "It was now (or by this time) about the sixth hour" is connected with the preceding promise of Paradise granted by Jesus to the repented criminal rather than with the beginning of the darkness which spread over the whole land. An interval occurring between these two events

has caused St. Luke to say that it was now about the sixth hour. An actual apparent contradiction between the accounts of the different Gospels is that regarding the time of the so-called Last Supper of our Lord. According to St. John, "Before the feast of the Passover . . . during supper" (John xiii., 1, 2) Jesus washed His disciples' feet. According to St. Matthew, "On the first day of unleavened bread . . . He was sitting at table with the twelve disciples" (Matthew xxvi., 17, 20) and instituted the Holy Eucharist. In all this there is not the least contradiction. We suppose Jesus to have been at supper every night.

St. John connects the supper of Nisan 12th with the account of Judas being pointed out as traitor. The Evangelist relates that on this occasion the Apostles thought that Jesus had said to Judas, "Buy those things which we have need of, for the festival day." (John xiii., 29.) This circumstance shows that the pointing out of Judas took place before the feast of the Passover. St. Matthew connects this same event with the supper of Nisan 14th, and he purposely overlooks the above suspicion of the Apostles, which would not be compatible with the day of the feast.

How shall we explain this liberty assumed by St. Matthew in his narrative? We shall not attempt to explain it. We are satisfied to respect what St. Matthew has done. Historical circumstances of no consequence should not hamper the higher purposes, ideals and feelings of an author. The writer himself is the best and only possible judge of how far he can use such liberties without betraying the historical interest. It would be perfidious to be scandalized at such differences in the accounts of the Evangelists. The duty of the Catholic student is not to obscure such apparent contradictions and to study them in order to better understand the nature of the narrative contained in the Gospel. Apparent inconsistencies in the sacred books are never without a reason.

THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH.

The common sentiment of the Church has always been that the chronological statements of the Evangelists should be understood to mean what the words do properly and obviously assert. In fact, the Fathers as interpreters of the Gospel and as witnesses to the sentiment of the Church have always understood that Cyrenius was in truth the Governor of Syria, that Annas was actually high priest, that the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius is truly and obviously asserted in the Gospel. Against these actual interpretations it may be claimed that the Fathers have understood that the number of Passovers named in the fourth Gospel is

exhaustive. But this is not expressly stated in the Gospel, and it might only be guessed. One should be worse than blind to reject the authority of the Fathers in those truths in which they have actually interpreted the very words of the Gospel, in order to respect their authority when they have ventured to guess anything from the Gospel. However, we must note that the Fathers never meant to guess from the Gospel, and they have never asserted that the number of Passovers in the Gospel of St. John is exhausted. Those Fathers who have appealed to the number of Passovers named in the Gospel were objecting to the view of a shorter duration of the ministry of our Lord. But the sentiment of the Church and the testimony of the Fathers in this matter can be no longer appealed to when we enter upon the specified dates of chronology as testified to by profane history. To imagine otherwise would show ignorance or a confused idea of the nature of the sentiment of the Church. In philosophy we repeat with Cicero that "*Quod omnium natura consentit, id verum esse necesse est.*" We can apply the same expression to the sentiment of the Church, saying that "*Quod credentium Gratia consentit, id verum esse necesse est.*"

The grace of God influences and saves from error the sentiment of the Church and the testimony of the Fathers. But the grace of God is expected to help in spiritual matters only. Christians do not refer to the influence of the grace of God any knowledge of theirs in matters of profane history. Consequently the actual dates of the life of Christ as testified to by the Jewish calendar, and by Jewish and Roman history, are not in any degree the expressions of the sentiment of the Church. And this is what we care for. The Fathers have proved bad scholars of profane history, and we cannot deny this fact, nor is there any serious interest to deny it. We do not object to the respect due to the Fathers even when they refer to historical data. We only object to an excessive and blind respect in this matter. Scholars should understand and acknowledge, not in words only, but in fact, that the chief concern of the Fathers in this chronology is the right interpretation of the Gospel. In this the Fathers have much better authority than in matters of profane history. The Fathers are interpreters of the Gospel by vocation and profession; they have occasionally given any attention to matters of profane history. That the Fathers have mistaken the dates of the life of Christ as harmonizing with profane history is a fact acknowledged by every scholar. It is only a question of difference. The example of the Fathers is against modern scholars. The Fathers have ac-

cepted, not without reserve, literal historical data, and have mistaken the chronology of Christ's life in order to maintain the literal meaning of the words of the Gospel. Modern scholars have overlooked the positive evidence of history and have abused the statements of the Gospels in order to maintain that the Fathers have mistaken of a few years only. But since it is acknowledged that the Fathers have certainly mistaken this chronology, what does it matter if the mistake was greater or smaller? The Fathers reject such a blind respect to them when this is against the interest of the Gospel.

CHRISTIAN TRADITION.

There can be no serious doubt that Christian tradition knew at first the true and genuine chronology of the life of Christ. In harmonizing the statements of the Gospel with historical data the Fathers have actually mistaken this same chronology. This fact proves that the Fathers have overlooked Christian tradition. It seems at first that the greater the mistake of the Fathers in this matter the greater their want of faithfulness to Christian tradition. It is not so. The Fathers were misled by a false evidence of historical data, against which every attempt proved vain. There was no great and no little want of interest and faithfulness to Christian tradition. It is a poor and false respect to the Fathers to refer to them any lack of faithfulness to Christian tradition. It cannot be so. Oral Christian tradition proved powerless against the written documents of history. To uphold Christian tradition it was necessary to place the Gospel out of history and against history. This would have been the worst evil. Hence the Fathers ignored Christian tradition. Their mistake was necessarily such as required and imposed by mistaken historical data. Besides, we must look to ancient Christian history for any notice of Christian tradition. We do so, and we find that Christian tradition referred Christ's birth to twenty-eight years after the beginning of the Roman Empire; Christ's baptism to the time of Augustus; His death to the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius; His age as being that of fifty years. All these statements were equally incompatible with the date of the census under Cyrenius in A. D. 6—A. D. 7, and we can clearly see how it was that Christian tradition in this matter did not hold.

First: If Jesus was born in A. D. 7, He died at the time not of Tiberius Claudius Nero, but of Nero Claudius in A. D. 56. Second: But Jesus was born fifteen years before the death of Augustus, and He died at the time of Claudius. Third: Jesus

was born at an earlier time and died under Tiberius. Fourth: Jesus was born fifteen years before the death of Augustus and died under Tiberius, and He was a boy when He began to preach. These different attempts to save Christian tradition show again that all the trouble came from the mistaken date of the census.

In matters spiritual, suppose some leading doctor of the Church should indulge in a mistaken reasoning, the mass of the believers would remain firm in faith and make impossible to doctors to remain blind for a space of time. Not so in matters of history. A common mistake of the Fathers of the Church had to become sooner or later a mistake of the whole Church. The mass of believers had no means to oppose the teaching of the Fathers in matters of profane history for any length of time. They might object once and again to a conclusion which was different from what their fathers had told them, but they could not hold. We have at hand a dissertation on the year of the birth of Christ, published in A. D. 1886. The author of this dissertation cannot hold his peace at the thought that any scholars had dared prefer the authority of Josephus to that of the Fathers in determining the date of the death of Herod. Each one of the Fathers of the Church as an honest and intelligent man stands equal to Josephus. Now, the Fathers of the Church are very many. Josephus is one. How can it be given more credit to one author than to many authors together? Yet since A. D. 1886 things have changed. Uncatholic scholars were glad to show their learning and reasoning. Catholic scholars have been ashamed at last, and have acknowledged a truth, no matter what it cost. The fact is that history cannot be invented. Josephus is an historian and should know what he is talking about. The Fathers affirm at later times what they cannot know. And Catholic scholars themselves have now universally accepted the authority of Josephus against the guessing of a thousand Fathers. Now, the testimony of St. Irenæus as to the age of Christ at His death is identical to the testimony of Josephus as regarding the date of the death of Herod. St. Irenæus expressly affirms that he gives witness to Christian tradition. He is in condition to know, and he should know what he is talking about. Later Fathers affirm what they cannot know.

Scholars have opened their eyes and have acknowledged that the testimony of Josephus holds good against the guessing of all the Fathers of the Church; they should now apply the same judgment to the testimony of St. Irenæus if they only want to be consistent. And it should prove easy to do so. The Rubicon has been already crossed. We have already acknowledged that

the Fathers have made a mistaken conclusion. A second mistaken conclusion is just as probable. Both mistakes are due to the same cause; that is, to the fact that the Fathers have mistaken the date of the census referred to by St. Luke. We have rejected a universal opinion of the Fathers for the testimony of Josephus; it should prove more easy to reject a less universal and less consistent opinion of the Fathers for the sacred testimony of St. Irenæus.

According to St. Irenæus, Jesus preached until He was fifty years of age:

(Sicut Evangelium) et omnes seniores testantur
kai pantes hoi presbuteroi marturousin
 (As the Gospel) and all the Elders testify.

qui in Asia
hoi kata ten Asian
 these (Elders) in Asia.

apud Joannem discipulum Domini
Ioanne to tou kurion mathete

in the presence of } John the disciple of the
 or }
 with regard to } Lord.

convenerunt (idipsum) tradidisse eis Joannem
sumbeblekotes paradedokenai ton Ioannen
 agreed that John had conveyed to them (the
 same information).

The Greek words are from Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," Book III., chap. 23; Migne "Gr. Patr.," Vol. XX., p. 257.

CATHOLIC DOCTRINE AND PROFANE HISTORY.

Students of profane history have been first to revenge the testimony of Josephus as regarding the date of the death of Herod, and Catholic scholars have honestly acknowledged this right claim. The said testimony of Josephus has been revenged even against the Gospel. Catholic scholars should now be first to revenge the testimony of St. Irenæus for the sake of the Gospel. We expect students of profane history to be consistent and to acknowledge our right claim. Should we ask students of profane history to admit with the Fathers of the Church that Cyrenius was Governor of Syria in the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus or that Annas was high priest in the fifteenth year of the reign of

Tiberius they will laugh at us. And have they not a right to do so? Let us claim with the Church that the Fathers are the proper interpreters of the Gospel, and students of profane history cannot object. They can have more or less respect for an actual interpretation given by the Fathers to an historical passage of the Gospel, but they can say nothing against the authority of the Fathers in this respect. Most important, however, is Catholic doctrine as regarding the literal interpretation of the Gospel. In this matter Catholic doctrine is identical with the rules and methods of interpreting any book of profane history. When we ask students of history to respect this doctrine of the Church we ask nothing. We are merely asking them to be true to their own principles and to their own method of studying and understanding history. This doctrine of the Church is of special importance in our case and of great interest. Historical statements in the Gospel are not only an object of faith. These statements are also interesting as an argument of faith. And unless they be interpreted according to the proper meaning of the words they would prove ineffective. In this question we only need to distinguish what is from the Gospel and what is from profane history. Then every difficulty disappears.

We have granted that the Fathers made mistakes in matters of profane history. But we only meant to say that they accepted literal facts from profane history. A mistake in matters of profane history belongs to the professed students of history. The Jews first and the heretics afterwards opposed historical data to the statements of the Gospel. We believe that they did so in good faith, since history could easily be misunderstood in the case of the census and of Cyrenius. But even so, this mistake was made in good faith by the students of history. The Fathers knew how to read a book of history, but they were not historians. The Fathers and the whole Church could not help accepting data of profane history from the students of this science. Students eagerly advanced and maintained as right such dates of the census and of Cyrenius, Governor of Syria, as to make the date of the birth of Christ grossly mistaken. The Fathers and the whole Church could not help sooner or later to accept such mistaken dates dictated by the professed students of history. And we owe it to profane history, if we can vindicate to-day the right chronology of the life of Christ. We receive from Theodore Mommsen that inscription engraved in a stone which revenges the time of Cyrenius and which is not a first-class document, but a treasure of history. To reject the illustrations by Mommsen is necessary to history

to reject a real treasure, which cannot be rejected without sufficient reason. Through Mommsen we have learned of other historians, who previously to Mommsen himself and from a different argument had concluded that Cyrenius was Governor of Syria when he fought against the Homonades. And through the same historian we have learned of the testimonies of Strabo and Dio as regarding Cyrenius. If we are striving to vindicate the triumph of the Gospel in this question, we owe it to the historian Mommsen. Without the help of profane history all our efforts to uphold the literal statements of the Gospel would prove vain and we would not dare attempt it. After sixteen centuries the Gospels appear to have been read and revered and kept intact against all the difficulties created by a misunderstanding of matters of history. And after sixteen centuries profane history has disinterred at opportune time a document which gives a new light to other historical statements which have hitherto remained unobserved.

CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS.

To claim a privileged interpretation of express historical statements given in the Gospels is practically to place the same Gospels out of history. This would certainly be against the most vital interest of Christian apologetics. A true chronology of the life of Christ forms the sacred interest of those prophecies which refer to the said chronology. These are of the greatest importance to Christian apologetics. The most important of these prophecies is that of Daniel announcing seventy weeks until the coming of Christ. Our interpretation that seventy weeks mean five hundred years is based on the literal meaning of the Holy Bible. Any contrary view of the Fathers in this case does not and cannot weaken our interpretation. No teaching is valuable to a blind intellect. The authority of the Fathers holds good to confirm the Bible; it cannot hold against the Bible. When it is not question of a definite Catholic doctrine and the Fathers interpret any passage of the Bible against the literal meaning of the words, it always means that the obvious interpretation has appeared absurd to them. But as soon as the literal interpretation appears right it becomes also the only lawful interpretation, and no contrary view of the Fathers can give even a shadow of doubt to any statement of the Bible.

Our interpretation that seventy weeks should be counted from the first year of Darius, that is from the very date of the vision of Daniel, is also evident. When the angel merely announces at verse 25 that seventy weeks are decreed until the Saint of Saints, Daniel as well as the reader can only understand that seventy weeks

are meant from the time of the prophecy. If at verse 26 the angel be supposed to say that these very seventy weeks shall be counted from a future date, this supposition implies a true disappointment to Daniel as well as to the reader. The twenty-fifth verse is not simply true any more. To say that seventy weeks shall be counted from a future date is the same as to tell Daniel that seventy weeks are not sufficient. It does not become the prophecy first to announce better tidings and afterwards to correct the announcement, making it less pleasant and disappointing.

"Et laetaberis, et invenies praecepta ut respondeatur." (Daniel, juxta lxx.) This translation shows that the angel warns Daniel that he shall search and find out the decree of Cyrus concerning the rebuilding of the Temple, and that this decree would be of use to Darius to give a favorable answer to the Jews of Jerusalem, as related in the First Book of Esdra, chapters v., vi.

We beg pardon for wishing to submit to the kind consideration of our readers another interest in the true chronology of Christ's life. There is preserved at Andria (Province of Bari, Italy) one of the holy thorns of the crown of Jesus. Some spots of His blood still remain upon it. Some changes of a wonderful nature take place in this relic whenever Good Friday falls on March 25. This miracle has been investigated and has been testified to each time when its changes have taken place. As recently as A. D. 1910 the local Bishop had a most competent and a most illustrious commission to investigate and to testify in a public affidavit to said changes. Authentic copies of said affidavit can be obtained by anybody. One has only to pay the expense of a few dollars. If it be denied that Christ died on Nisan 20, and consequently on March 25, such a denial will necessarily give a discredit to the above said miracle. The discredit of one well proved miracle will mean a shadow and a kind of discredit to all modern miracles. Many a student will perhaps smile with contempt at the thought that in the twentieth century one should give importance to such a matter. But we are convinced that miracles are a powerful argument for faith. We have no reason to be afraid of the contempt of the freethinker. An account of modern miracles is the most convincing sermon a priest can preach. A good book on modern miracles is the best book to help the faith of our common people. All the sarcasm of freethinkers will leave the story of the miracle untouched. The argument from the great fact of the Church itself is more or less effective, according to the more or less educated mind of a faithful. The argument from miracles is effective to every people of good will. The argument from the

great fact of the Church can be addressed to Christians only. The argument from miracles is powerful to call to faith those who have entirely lost it or never had any. The first argument is more speculative and apt to confirm the faith of a believer and to keep him faithful to the Church. The second argument is also apt to revive faith and to increase it. But especially we hold that God does not work miracles without purpose, and that it is our sacred duty to God to treasure miracles earnestly.

Concluding, the sentiment of the Church and its express teaching, the interest of Christian faith and the honor of the Gospel require us to interpret according to the literal and obvious meaning of the words the chronological statements made by the Evangelists. The question in this matter is, Shall we be guided by history or shall we follow vain imagination? Shall we accept truth or a lie? Shall we decide according to the interest of faith or the obstinacy of men?

FRANCIS VALITUTTI.

IMPORTANCE OF IRRIGATION TO NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA.

THE completion of the vast Carlsbad and Elephant Butte Dams in New Mexico and the Roosevelt Dam in Arizona again brings into prominence a section of our nation that was under the sway of the white man at least two generations before the Eastern coast felt the developing hand of Caucasian civilization, for it is recorded that Coronado, Castenada, Penalosa and other Spanish adventurers made their way out of Mexico as far back as 1540; and it is also a matter of record that a Spanish priest, Fray Marcos de Niza, with a few attendants, came northward in 1539 and established his mission at the pueblo of Zuni, giving the vast territory of New Mexico and Arizona the high-sounding title of "The New Kingdom of St. Francis." Nobel prizes and Carnegie medals were not distributed to men of valor in the "dark ages" of American history; but there cannot be the slightest doubt that the dauntless Franciscan outranked all competitors in the field of intrepid adventure, for even to-day vast stretches of territory—mountains and vales and plains—are suffused with the ancient spirit of "sun, silence and adobe" that met the gaze of the trail-blazers two hundred and forty years before the aristocratic Cornwallis handed his sword to the democratic Washington on the battlefield at Yorktown.

It may wound the patriotic sensibilities of a modern American to be told that our forebears of the distant long ago put into tangible form those peculiar and monstrous architectural ideas which we associate with up-to-the-minute centres of activity like New York, Chicago and San Francisco and call "skyscrapers." But the statement is nevertheless true, for Americans of ancient lineage were occupying their pueblos, or communal abodes, countless generations ere the Santa Maria pointed her prow towards the shores of Nueva Hispaniola. The material used in pueblo construction is called adobe, a substance similar to clay, which after being moulded into large black bricks is dried in the sun for two or three days. These useful articles become as solid as stone and support vast communal residences five, six and seven stories high; the recipe was evidently given to the Indians by the Spanish adventurers, and is said to be of Moorish origin. Pueblos are scattered all over the Southwest and frequently accommodate the entire Indian tribe of the district. Many of these vast habitations are accessible to tourists, and perhaps one of the most interesting is Acoma—City

of the Rock Marvelous—perched on a massive rock some 350 feet above the level of the barren plain, about fifteen miles south of Laguna, a station on the Santa Fé Railway. Acoma's birth is not enscrolled on the pages of American history, but the progenitors of the present Pueblos were evidently fervent in their faith, for in 1629 they carried up the steep trail all the materials necessary for the erection of St. Stephen's Church, at that time conducted by the Franciscans.

Zuni is also on the main line of the Santa Fé, and besides the celebrity conferred upon it by Friar de Niza in establishing the first Christian mission in what is now the United States, the citizens quite pompously assure the tourist that Zuni was one of the seven renowned "cities" of the ancient Kingdom of Cibola. It is mere speculation as to whether or not Cibola flourished in the "good old days," but one thing is an absolute surety—there is no place beneath the widespreading reaches of the cerulean dome that enjoys a more salubrious atmosphere than does "The New Kingdom of St. Francis." Of course, the higher altitudes of this high country (4,000 to 8,000 feet) are not conducive to the well-being of the weak-hearted, but the air is pure and dry, for it rarely rains, and the cool, crisp winter days bring many broken-down Easterners to recuperate from the turmoil and strife of modern "civilization." Oppressive heat is unknown during the summer solstice, and a light blanket is a welcome acquisition when the nocturnal shades have mantled all in darkness.

The sightseer finds it difficult to flash the limelight on any one particular section of this charming amphitheatre of Andalusian romance; but many westbound tourists leave the main line at Lamy station and board the "local" for the ancient yet modern capital the Castilian cartographers were wont to call La Villa Real de Santa Fé de San Francisco de Asis—the Royal City of Saint Francis of Assisi's Holy Faith. This mellifluous cognomen perturbed the equanimity of the "modernists," so they abridged it to Santa Fé, a town of 9,000 inhabitants, half of whom speak what passes for Spanish and the other half what passes for English. We are now 7,000 feet above the level of the earth, and the air is so rarefied that rapid walking is never attempted by the natives, so everybody ambles along the streets in the most carefree manner imaginable. The Plaza is the common meeting ground of the multitude, and the benches are always well filled with men, women and children whose vocabulary was not acquired in an English school of learning.

On Sunday the town turns out en masse to promenade and enjoy

the soothing and discordant notes of the band. Don Juan de Onate, who conquered New Mexico in 1598, is said to have "rested arms" on the site of the Plaza in 1605, when the capital was transferred from San Gabriel. It was also on the Plaza that General Stephen Kearny hoisted the American ensign in 1846; and the famous Santa Fé Trail had its terminus there. Immediately opposite stands Palacio Real (the Governor's Palace), one-storied and adobe. Here the Spanish Viceroy, Mexican and American Governors resided for 300 years, and General Lew Wallace, while Governor of the Territory, wrote much of his well-known book, "Ben Hur." The unfinished Cathedral, of modern design, stands upon the site of a church that was built in 1622; the Church of San Miguel was originally erected in 1607, and claims to be the oldest edifice in continuous use in the United States. There are many churches, Indian schools and institutions in this lofty and hill-surrounded archiepiscopal See, whose rule extends over nearly all the Commonwealth and fully three-fourths of the church-going population. But all Santa Fé is by no means of mediæval mould, for there are first-class shops, substantial office buildings and attractive homes of the well-to-do; and far up in the translucent blue we descry the snow-capped Sangre de Cristo, or the Mountains of the Blood of Christ.

It is a roundabout road that runs to "Towss," as the natives have dubbed Taos, perhaps the oldest settlement in this division of the earth and a great trading post in the days of yore; but the two-day automobile trip is a revelation to the traveler obsessed with a desire to view the adobe habitations familiar to Kit Carson and the other frontiersmen so prominent in the days of the Santa Fé Trail. There is nothing left to indicate its one-time conspicuity in the world of commerce, for the belching locomotive dimmed the old town's prestige, and now we find the "first families of America" dwelling placidly in their seven-storied pyramidal pueblo. Little plantations abound on every hand, and the Pueblos seem to be perfectly satisfied with conditions now prevailing. The grave of rough Kit Carson is over yonder at Fernandez de Taos, and it would be superfluous to add that the gentle Sisters of Loretto are instructing the rising generation in the local schoolroom. Sisters of various orders are here, there and everywhere, even in sections far removed from the roaring siren of the rails; and the same is true of the religious communities of men. These pious sons and daughters of the Christian cause have consecrated their lives to uplifting inferior races, and when we contemplate the tremendous task of transforming a savage pagan into a docile, virtuous Chris-

tian, our admiration for these unselfish preceptors cannot be expressed in English phrase.

Snug and placid Las Vegas is also a seat of antiquity, and in this good-sized town of ten thousand souls, half of whom read as their right of birth the Spanish nomenclature emblazoned on windows and signs in the older quarter of the city, there may be seen scores of comfortable homes whose owners have sought and found an ideal abode for man. Local hotels offer fair accommodations for tourists of ordinary means, but St. Anthony's Sanitarium, conducted by the kindly Sisters of Charity, renders excellent service to those who wish to regain their health in a climate unsurpassed in any land beneath the crystalline vault. Gallinas Canyon, a short distance away, is unique among the gorges of the earth, for upwards of 30,000 tons of ice are yearly gathered from its surface and distributed far and wide along the railway. It will be recalled that Las Vegas lies 6,000 feet above the level, and the ice that forms during the night is shielded by the canyon's walls from the melting rays of the sun during the sunlit hours. A "lightning calculator" might find it difficult to tabulate the cattle, sheep and goats that browse on the hills about us, and the high cost of living elsewhere has enabled many of the residents to roll around in automobiles of universal make.

The main line of the Santa Fé Railway skirts the curving banks of the Rio Grande to Albuquerque, metropolis of the State and one of the busiest little cities of 18,000 souls in existence; but it should not be forgotten that the Commonwealth is somewhat larger than the British Islands, that billions of tons of coal, iron and other ores are locked within its subterranean chambers, and these industries are in the main regulated from the "jobbing office" of the State. Central avenue is a miniature Broadway, the streets are wide, the stores are of superior rank, and the bungalows of the proletarians are generally surrounded by rose bushes that thrive the year round; and of course the regal manors of lumber and coal barons, sheep and cattle kings, oil and other potentates would embellish the boulevards of a larger community. There are several sanitariums here, and St. Joseph's, just above us on the hill, is directed by the Sisters of Charity. St. Felipe de Neri's Church, in the old Mexican quarter, has been in continuous use for nearly one hundred and fifty years. The Santa Fé Railway restaurants and hotels are operated by "Fred Harvey," and it must be admitted Fred has performed marvels in catering to the wants of the peregrinating public; his eating houses all bear patronymics of ancient Spaniards, and at reasonable fees for the service rendered.

The Harvey collection of Indian handicraft at the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque exemplifies the innate artistry of our aboriginal neighbors, and here are displayed some fine specimens of the potter's art, wicker baskets of the highest grade, walking sticks of fantastic design and blankets unsurpassed by the weavers of far-famed Persia.

The possibilities of New Mexico are unlimited; the principal drawback at the present time being lack of proper railroad facilities and the scarcity of water. The census figures for 1920 will probably reach the half-million mark, but this is a mere picayune compared with the sustaining power of the State. All things being equal, this great province could support as many human beings as now dwell in the ancient land of the Alhambra. However, the vast Carlsbad and Elephant Butte Dams, just a few miles north of the Texas line, are impounding millions of tons of water, and in a few years four hundred thousand acres will be nourished by the aquatic flow. These great enterprises are under the control of the United States Reclamation Service, and Federal engineers are driving irrigation ditches for miles in the southern section and also in the Panhandle of Texas. Land in this neighborhood formerly sold for a song, but water has enhanced things to such a degree that \$25, \$50 and even \$100 an acre is not considered abnormal. El Paso, the pass to Mexico, was formerly the rendezvous of traders, "greasers," rowdies and festive saturnalian who neither toiled nor spun; but times change, and the episcopal seat of the Right Rev. Bishop Anthony J. Schuler, an able son of Loyola, is now the great entrepot of the Southwest. St. Patrick's Cathedral is also an added attraction to the architectural symmetry of the Lone Star city. The country west of the "Pan" is sparsely settled, the Southern Pacific's "Sunset Limited" requiring the better part of a day to reach Tucson, which divides with Phoenix the metropolitan honors of Arizona. It is very hot in summer down around the border, and Yuma's envious critics are emphatic in saying that the place is even more torrid than the Avernian bourne itself; but the lack of humidity makes the climate bearable. Moreover, continuous sunshine and irrigation have brought hither many intelligent and energetic fruit growers, and their endeavors are exemplified in tangible form in the Phoenix district, where some peach orchards are valued at \$1,000 per acre. This section was a barren wilderness a generation ago, but irrigation has brought about a marvelous transformation. Arizona has a great asset in its mineral deposits, and it would seem that the Mazatzal Range is one big block of copper, lead, silver, gold and coal. Things industrial were quite

sombre a few years back, but the European fracas has sent copper soaring to the zenith, and the downtrodden masses must now rest content with a mere dollar an hour for their toil.

The tourist going to Phoenix leaves the train at Bowie and "locals" it on to Globe and Miami, a couple of big mining towns unknown to mapmakers a decade or so ago. Easterners supply the funds for the development of the copper lands and the four points of the compass supply the brawn, for every nationality beneath the eternal stars is represented here. Bohemianism, however, perished from malnutrition when the aquatic avalanche shattered its banks and consigned to perdition the "Tall High Hat," the "Miners' Roost" and the "Three Buckets of Blood" so dear to the heart of the timorous Jesse James and the other Bacchanalian actors who shot things up before the "bone-dry" régime claimed its own.

Arizona is "dry" in more ways than one, for it rarely rains up around the Ash Fork section, and this is why agriculture and population fail to grow. "Dry farming" has been attempted, but an inexorable law of nature demands nutrition, and that means water and an abundance of it. The Italian peninsula could be ensconced within the borders of the State, though Rome's population is at least twice as great; but everybody is optimistic regarding the Federal irrigation plans for the development of the Western farm lands when democracy rules the councils of the nations. Water can be impounded from the Colorado and Green rivers in sufficient quantities to irrigate enormous tracts; moreover, scientists assert that fifteen per cent. of ocean water can be mixed with fresh without destroying the effectiveness of the latter as a germinator of the cereals of life. The project of building dams and piping the Pacific's flood across the Rockies will run to tens of millions; but these tens of millions would be well expended, as a vast territory would become a tremendous asset to the nation.

Another industry rapidly forging to the front is the production of asbestos, a commodity heretofore imported from Canada, Italy and South Africa. Most of the asbestos has generally come from the Dominion, but the Arizona product is said to be vastly superior to the Canadian article, which averages about \$50 a ton, while that of the local fibre runs well above the \$300 mark. The use of asbestos is much larger than is commonly known, owing to the increased use of gas mantles, electrical insulation, steam pipes and refrigerators.

Large automobile stages run daily from Globe to Phoenix via the Roosevelt Dam, and the two-day trip, especially in winter, is captivating in the extreme. The car follows the old Apache Trail

for a considerable part of the route, and in the escarpments aloft we view the peculiar habitations our Aztec friends hewed out of solid rock in order to avoid the death-dealing arrows of marauders. The dam is now in working order, and preparations are under way to irrigate a quarter of a million acres from the waters of Roosevelt Lake, just as giant dynamos will eventually illuminate streets and trolleys in far-distant centres. A pleasant little chateau, "The Lodge," overlooks the lake, and lethargic tourists stop over to fish, swim and sail on the waters of this hill-enclosed miniature ocean, about four miles wide and perhaps thirty in length. Going west we skirt the Salt River for many miles, but of course the sightseer must understand that some rivers are longer, deeper and wider than others; and every bend of the Trail brings to view a series of sunken chasms and buttes that enrapture the most phlegmatic soul. A vast panorama known as the Painted Cliffs is a younger brother of the great Grand Canyon itself, and the enchanted traveler allows his unbridled fancy to roam back to an epoch when Nineveh was young and Carthage was yet to be numbered among the great principalities of the earth.

Phoenix is a modern capital of 20,000 people, and its most important eating house is operated by a heathen Celestial, as Bret Harte facetiously phrased it; but the children of old Cathay also conduct first-class restaurants throughout the Southwest. Streets are wide and fairly well paved, some buildings are metropolitan-like, the trolley system gives good service, and those who have employment receive fair compensation; however, "Eastern lungers" are numerous, and this makes it bad for the man looking for work. The atmosphere is dry and warm—sometimes very hot in summer—but the winters cannot be surpassed, and this is why scores of handsome homes and apartment houses are barred and bolted from early May to late September. The city boasts several fine sanitariums, and St. Joseph's Hospital, one of the best in the State, is conducted by the Sisters of Charity. This up-to-date city was a frontier trading post a generation ago, and perhaps the dissolute conditions caused President Buchanan to say to Congress "Murder and other crimes are committed with impunity" when he recommended in 1858 that a Territorial form of government be established. A branch of the Santa Fé runs up to Prescott and Ash Fork, and for twenty miles we behold the magic power of water to transform sandy wastes into fragrant terraces that delight the eye of the artist and whet the appetite of the gourmet.

Prescott boasts a population of 12,000, and depends almost exclusively upon copper mining for its sustenance. There are several

smelters of large capacity in the vicinity, and the great world-war came propitiously for the whole region, as copper was a drug on the market four years ago and scarcely paid for the smelting; but our old friend, *Tempus Fugit*, has waved his magic hand, and lo! quite a number of embryo millionaires now roll around the avenues of thriving Prescott City. We alluded to New Mexico as the land of "sun, silence and adobe," and in the same vein let us dub the section lying between Prescott and Ash Fork as the land of "sun, silence and stone," for the rocky road to Dublin is a pigmy compared with the stony landscape greeting the gaze at every bend of the snakelike railroad division that splits the State and connects the south with the main line of the railroad; and the "limited" covers the distance at the heart-racking speed of twenty miles an hour. Schedules have quite evidently been arranged to please the "night owl" branch of the human race, for the northbound "flyer" leaves Prescott at midnight and the southbound "express" at 3.30 A. M. However, it is only fair to say that there is another train each way during the daylight hours, and this gives an opportunity to view the countryside and also the score of towns announced on the time-table. But as nothing more important than a modest platform looms to view at each stop, we conclude that the people are coming from or going to Montezuma's Castle, which is reached from Jerome and then on to Camp Verde by auto for thirty miles or more. It is recorded that the famous Aztec chief performed many valorous deeds during his tempestuous life on earth, but he never scaled—and probably never even beheld—the elaborate cliffs sightseers must needs ascend, with the aid of ladders, to reach the goal, perhaps eighty feet or more above the placid waters of Beaver Creek, which at times is as dry as the "bone-dry" law itself.

The architect who planned the alleged habitation for the ancient warrior should have transmitted his cognomen to posterity, as he possessed a wonderful eye for the picturesque as well as lofty and substantial in the building line, the walls of rough masonry being as solid to-day as in the far-flung days of yore. It is necessary to climb a ladder to reach the base of the cliff above the creek and then pick our way until we reach another ladder, and so on until we have ascended the fourth ladder—then we are permitted to climb around and about the five stories that comprise the height of the castle. The walls within and without are bare and rough, and very much unlike the high degree of artistry we find in the work of the ancient architects of Mitla in Mexico or Uxmal in Yucatan. However, the trip is worth while in more

ways than one—and from the top of the cliff the binoculars bring home a vast amphitheatre of pueblos and cave dwellings, cliffs and hills in great abundance, and all the world seems wrapt in sun and silence. Archæologists who have trod the ghastly aisles of Mizraim, scanned the fallen forums of the Incas or roamed through the moss-strewn chambers of Chichen-Itza grow exultant in portrayal of this dead and buried empire that was hoary ere Abraham wed with Sarai.

Chronologists do not ally that doughty old pioneer, Adam Hanna, with the disobedient father of the human race, but his name is favorably known to legions of geologists and embryo archæologists who stop over at Adamana to spin across the treeless expanse of desert commonly alluded to as the Petrified Forest of Arizona; in fact, there is no reason for thinking that a forest ever existed, except perchance in the chimerical soul of some scrivener of the Vernean trend of thought. However, there can be no doubt that the myriads of agatized tree trunks dotting the floor of the First Forest came from somewhere during the dim and darkened cycle our grave and learned cosmographers nonchanantly term the Triassic Age of the world; and it is regrettable that the archives of this interesting epoch were long ago erased from the entablature of Time. One ossified giant is known as the Natural Bridge, because it lies across a chasm forty-five feet from bank to bank; smaller fragments dot the barren waste in great abundance. The Aztecs used this stone-wood when building their habitations, and also fashioned it into household utensils, hammers, spears and all the rest of the bellicose implements modern strategists are now hurling at each other there in France. Then there are the Second Forest, the North Forest, and finally the variegated and sandy plain known as the Painted Desert.

A few miles farther on Williams is reached, and here our sleeper is switched onto the branch leading to El Tovar, named in honor of another adventurer from the land of Vallombrosa and said to be the first white man who espied the Grand Canyon of the Colorado in 1540. The big log-like caravansary is also styled "El Tovar," and when we recall that even the water has to be brought to the Canyon's rim, we begin to realize that the maintenance of this first-class hotel out here in the wilderness is indeed one of the wonders of the age. Of course, the Grand Canyon is the greatest wonder to be found anywhere beneath the subastral dome, and it is regrettable that airships have to be used for the purpose of locating the enemy instead of giving the American people an opportunity to view this terrific grave dug by a god for

the interment of the world. Thrice have we flashed the glass on this gorgeous cyclorama of lofty mounds and bottomless depths, titanic pyramids and fallen colonnades, baseless gorges and embellished spires—but only a Miltonian pen could attempt its true portrayal.

The silence there was what most haunted me.
Long, speechless streets, whose stepping stones invite
Feet which shall never come; to the left and right
Gay colonnades and courts—beyond, the glee,
Heartless, of that forgetful Pagan sea;
On roofless homes and waiting streets the light
Lies with a pathos sorrowfuller than night!

WILLIAM S. LONG.

Camden, N. J.

DID THE OLDER ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS DENY THE SPHERICITY OF THE EARTH?

THIS question is most frequently answered in the affirmative, not only by Protestants, but by Catholics as well. We are referred in particular to St. Augustine, perhaps the greatest among the fathers of the Church, who says in his work, "The City of God:" "Quod vero et antipodas esse fabulantur, id est, homines a contraria parte terrae, ubi sol oritur quando occidit nobis, adversa nostris calcare vestigia, nulla ratione credendum est."¹ "If people talk of antipodes (maintaining) that on the opposite side of the earth, where the sun rises when it sets for us, men are walking with their feet turned against ours, this must by no means be credited." Hence it is concluded that St. Augustine rejects the teaching of the ancient Greek philosophers and geographers concerning the shape of the earth. Whatever the later Middle Ages knew on this point, we are told, had been delivered to them by the Mohammedan scientists of Spain.

The fact, however, is that the knowledge of the sphericity of the earth never died out among the Christian nations, and that it was preserved entirely without the help of Mohammedan scholarship. To prove this, we shall first examine into the opinion of St. Augustine, and then adduce one other witness in favor of our contention.

If the reader will attentively inspect the sentence quoted above, he will find that the great doctor distinguishes between two questions, namely, whether the earth is a globe and whether the other half of it is inhabited. The latter question he denies emphatically. But he implicitly supposes the rotundity of our planet. He clearly indicates that there is "an opposite side of the earth, where the sun rises when it sets for us."

Several of the preceding chapters of "The City of God" St. Augustine devotes to discussing the various kinds of descendants of Adam. In chapter 8 he inquires whether there might not be whole races of "monstra," that is of men whose bodies are formed anomalously; men, for instance, with several heads or more than two hands or feet. He considers possible the existence of human beings formed differently from the shape which is the rule among us. But he concludes: "Either the reports concerning such fabulous races are false; or, if these beings are really men, they descend from Adam; or they are no men."

¹ Book XVI., chapter 9.

He next asks the question whether there are not, perhaps, antipodes. His reasons against their existence may be thus summed up: First, the advocates of this view have merely *a priori* proofs for it. Since there are men on this side of the earth, they say, there must be men on the other side also. But they have no direct knowledge, no "historica cognitio." Second, if there were any men there, they must have come from the children of Adam (from the seventy-two Biblical nations which the saint mentions shortly before in chapter 6). But according to the firm conviction of the educated of ancient times, men were absolutely unable to cross the immense ocean which surrounds the inhabited land.² Had St. Augustine lived to see the discoveries of later ages, he would not have hesitated a moment to give up his opposition. They furnished just what was absolutely lacking in his time: proofs *a posteriori*, or the "historica cognitio."

Thus, however, he arrives at the conclusion that he may safely confine his studies to the seventy-two nations of the Bible.³

But underlying these considerations and even expressed in so many words is the conviction that the earth is round. St. Augustine treats this as a matter known to his readers, or at least in no way new or surprising. He even states that there are reasons for believing that the dwelling place of mankind is a globe.

"The City of God," the book in which these passages occur, is a kind of philosophy of history, tracing in bold outlines the dealings of God with the human race. On account of its lofty character, the extensive learning embodied in it and the deep piety which ennobles all its parts, it remained for centuries one of the most widely read books of Christian literature. Cassiodorus, the founder of the famous monastery of Vivarium, to whom is due in a very high degree the literary activity of the monasteries of the Middle Ages, died a century and a half after St. Augustine. He recommended to his monks most seriously the study of "The City of God," and we have reasons to believe that this advice was heeded. Two hundred years later we again find it to be the favorite reading of Charlemagne. *But as long as this work was read and pondered over with reverence and earnestness, the belief in the rotundity of the earth could neither perish entirely nor be looked upon as a dangerous and half-heretical doctrine.*

To show more clearly the continuity of this belief during the

² This general conviction is alluded to by Horace in Ode 3 of Book I, line 22.

³ He grants that there are in reality more races (end of chapter 6). Surprising is the readiness with which St. Augustine admits every kind of true evidence, profane or Biblical.

centuries after St. Augustine and at the same time its dependence of any Saracen influence, we now turn to a man who both held that the earth is a globe and was not in a position to receive this knowledge from Arab scholars, namely, St. Bede the Venerable. Our information concerning him and his cosmological view is taken from "Lingard's Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church."⁴

St. Bede the Venerable died in 735 after spending all his life in the monastery of Jarrow, in Northumbria (Northern England). He is one of the great lights of the Church and the glory of his country. His learning was, no doubt, largely due to direct and indirect intercourse with the monks of Ireland. On a pilgrimage to Rome his abbot had secured a rich collection of books, chiefly, if not exclusively, works of the fathers of the Church.

In far-off Northumbria, then, St. Bede explained to his disciples the system of Ptolemy, the renowned Greek geographer of the second century after Christ. Ptolemy puts the earth, a sphere of course, in the centre of the universe, surrounded by the various "orbs" which then were thought necessary to account for the phenomena of the heavens.⁵ This alone leaves no doubt as to St. Bede's attitude. He believed that the earth is round.

But to make assurance doubly sure, Lingard quotes a sentence from the learned monk's book, "*De Natura Rerum*," which expressly enunciates the sphericity of the earth. Bede wishes to obviate the objections of those who either might find it difficult to agree with him on account of the mountains, or who, on the contrary, might place the rotundity of the earth in the elevations and depressions of hill and dale. He says: "*Orbem terrae dicimus, non quod absolute orbis sit forma in tanta montium camporumque disparilitate, sed cujus amplexus, sis cuncta linearum comprehendantur ambitu, figuram absoluti orbis efficiat.*"⁶ We call the earth a sphere, not as if the shape of a perfect sphere showed itself in the inequality of the surfaces of plains and mountains, but because its (the earth's) circumference does not represent the shape of a perfect globe if all things (terrestrial) are included in the outline.

It is therefore certain that Venerable Bede *in the first half of the eighth century knew and taught the sphericity of the earth. Nor was this knowledge in any way dependent on Mohammedan*

⁴ (American edition), pp. 197ff.

⁵ St. Bede as a rule simply adopted what had been taught before him. But he was by no means a slavish compiler. He used his own judgment. He found, for instance, that the tides, though evidently influenced by the moon, do not occur in all places at the same time, as had been supposed by his forerunners.

⁶ Caput 44.

learning. It is simply impossible that up to that particular time he or any other of his contemporaries should have received it from Arab scientists. Mohammedanism, founded in 622, was then hardly a century old. Its adherents were still completely engrossed in extending their religion by force of arms. They had just conquered Spain (711) and dreamed of a conquest of all Europe, until in 732, that is three years before the death of the Northumbrian saint, they met their decisive defeat by Charles Martel in the battle of Tours. It was after this battle only that they settled down and engaged in scientific pursuits and that their Spanish schools acquired the renown for scholarship which made them famous during the Middle Ages. St. Bede the Venerable could not have been benefited by them. This would have been impossible, had he been living in what is now Southern France, but much the more so, as his convent home stood far away in Northern England. The learning displayed in his school and deposited in his books was simply part and parcel of the old Greek and Christian inheritance, and every item of it had been transmitted to him and his contemporaries by Christian minds and hands.

F. S. SERLAND.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Book Reviews

RELIGIOUS PROFESSION: A Commentary on a Chapter of the New Code of Canon Law. By *Hector Papi, S. J.* 12mo., pp. 87. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

Speaking of the New Code of Canon Law and its importance in bringing about the declared purpose of Pius X. "to restore all things in Christ," the author briefly reviews the history of ecclesiastical legislation before the Codification, points out the difficulties in the way of the student, and truthfully says "laws cannot be observed unless they are known." He might have gone a step further and added they cannot be known unless they are explained. It is universally true that all laws present difficulties to the human mind and that in every field of law experts are required to explain its meaning. Hence the endless legal disputes that distract men and divide them into warring elements; hence counsel for the plaintiff and counsel for the defendant, who strive to prove opposite conclusions from the same law; hence courts of various degree, ranging from the lowest through courts of appeal to the highest or supreme court, all presided over by learned judges, who render contradictory decisions on the same question, and sometimes decide it finally by a majority of one after giving three conflicting opinions concerning it.

This is true to some extent in regard to ecclesiastical law, which also has its lawyers or canonists, its various tribunals and its court of last resort, with this very important difference, that the final decision of the highest tribunal in the Church concerning matters of faith and morals is infallibly true and settles the question beyond the possibility of doubt. But until that final decision is given we are dealing with human affairs with human means and we must be prepared for human differences.

His Excellency Archbishop Bonzano, congratulating the author on the wisdom of his choice of subject and on his eminent fitness for the task, says: "The Code will form the basis of libraries of explanation and commentary in due time. What is needed promptly is precisely what you have begun—a brief and clear explanation of its more important and practical contents."

The author truly remarks that the chapter on Religious Profession is one of the most important chapters of that part of the Code which deals with the religious life: "The explanation of the enactments contained in it will be useful to every institute in which the three religious vows of poverty, chastity and obedience are taken." While it is true that the Code does not revoke the privileges granted by the Holy See to an institute directly, it is also true that it expressly abrogates all the rules and particular constitutions of each religious institute which are contrary to the canons or articles of the Code.

The book begins with an explanation of the definition and main divisions of religious profession. Then follows the commentary on the various sections of the chapter under review in this order: The Latin text, the English translation, the explanation. This work is a model. We wish that Dr. Papi would do for the whole Code what he has done for this chapter. He would make the whole ecclesiastical body his debtor. Such a work would spread a knowledge of the Code most quickly and would bring about its observance most perfectly. It would contribute very much to the end which the saintly Pius X. had in mind when he began the codification, and the hope which the learned Benedict XV. had in his heart when he promulgated it, the restoration of all things in Christ.

THE FUTURE LIFE: By *Rev. Joseph Sasia, S. J.* According to the Authority of Divine Revelation, the Dictates of Sound Reason and the General Consent of Mankind. 8vo., cloth, 560 pages; net, \$2.50. New York: Benziger Brothers.

"This work is the fruit of several years' patient research and strenuous labor. The views expressed in it are the result of convictions begotten by faith, strengthened by reason and confirmed by human testimony. It is the author's purpose to make his readers realize more and more vividly the great truth that there are studies higher than those of external nature; that there are investigations nobler than those of the composition of the stars and the geological depths of the earth; that there are open to men studies more inspiring than mining, railroading, wireless telegraphy, and aerial navigation. This work is intended to remind the reader that he

has a soul destined by its Maker to flourish in immortal youth amidst the war of elements, the wreck of matter and the crash of worlds. Many books have been written in different languages on the present subject, but few, if any, cover the same ground."

This may be said in all truth to be a full, clear, exhaustive and satisfying treatise on the most important of all questions, "What doth it profit a man if he gain the world and suffer the loss of his own soul?" Its publication required courage, for it preaches a doctrine that is not popular and that may expose its author to the sarcasm, criticism and ridicule of men who are accustomed to condemn and denounce everything that disturbs their conscience and upsets their cherished views. It will not be acceptable to those who deny a future life and the immortality of the soul, but it will offend most those who do not believe in future punishment, and especially future eternal punishment. Many of them do not want to know if this is a revealed truth; indeed, they fear most that they might be convinced that it is. Therefore they deny the possibility of it and close their eyes to it, like the little boy who closes his eyes in the dark and thinks no danger is near because he cannot see it.

The author approaches the question fearlessly, as every man should approach it. The question is, has Almighty God revealed the doctrine of future retribution? Of everlasting reward to the just and everlasting punishment to the wicked? There is not much difficulty about the first part of the question, because outside of atheists and materialists no opposition is made to endless happiness for the just. The trouble comes when we take up the second part, but to this as well as to the former the author gives an emphatic affirmative answer and proves it no less clearly.

It would be a mistake to think, however, that the author devotes more attention to the question of eternal punishment than to the other questions that pertain to eternal life. On the contrary, there is throughout the whole work that nice balance and logical sequence which gives it true value and permanence. The reader will not have to seek further for the truth.

JOHN CARDINAL McCLOSKEY (1810-1885). By *His Eminence John Cardinal Farley*. 8vo., pp. 400. Illustrated. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

"It is now almost twenty years since I published the initial chapters of this 'Life of John Cardinal McCloskey.' Shortly after his death, in 1885, I began a biography of America's first Prince of the Church, but it was not until 1899 that a brief account of

his life, up to his return from Rome in 1837, appeared in the 'Historical Records and Studies.' . . . When I wrote the article on Cardinal McCloskey for the Catholic Encyclopedia I then determined to complete the biography. From 1872 to 1884 I was Cardinal McCloskey's secretary. During those twelve years it was my custom to write down with as little delay as possible all our conversations regarding his own personal history. Much that has entered into this biography has been taken from my diaries of that time. Cardinal McCloskey's own letters and diaries have also been used. The ecclesiastical archives of Baltimore, Albany, Rochester, Buffalo and Newark and the official archives of the Archdiocese of New York have all been diligently searched for documents that would illustrate the Cardinal's long life of seventy-five years."

This extract from the Preface sets before us the biographer with his exceptional ability and equipment, the scope of the work which he proposes to do and the means which he intends to use to accomplish it. The result is admirable. We have not only a splendid specimen of biographical literature, but we have the biography of a man who was most intimately connected with the growth of the Church in this country throughout the most important period of her history. During the span of his life, from 1810 to 1885, she not only sowed, but she reaped abundantly, and Cardinal McCloskey was both a zealous sower and reaper.

The story of the growth of the Church in this country during his life is truly the story of the mustard seed, as the Cardinal himself said at the time of his golden jubilee celebration. While reading his life as here recorded, we are introduced to the educational institutions of the country, we meet the leading churchmen of the times, both here and in Europe, we assist at the councils of the Church, provincial, plenary and general, and we partake in the conflicts, internal and external, which are to follow the institution that Christ founded on St. Peter until the end of time.

The eminent biographer could hardly have erected a more becoming and honorable monument to himself, as well as to his illustrious predecessor, than this delightful and instructive book.

A SOLDIER'S CONFIDENCES WITH GOD: Spiritual Colloquies of Giosue Borsi. Authorized translation by Rev. Pasquale Maltese. 12mo., pp. 362. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

These colloquies or meditations are written in the form of prayer by the author not for publication, but because he believed that God wished him to make his meditations in that way. He was not an

anchorite nor a cloistered mystic, but a young man of the world, poet, scholar, amateur actor, dramatic critic, commentator of Dante, darling of the salons of the gay world of Rome and Florence. His father was a clever journalist who made a political platform of his hatred for the Catholic Church and who brought up his son in an atmosphere of hostility to religion. Out of deference to the wishes of a pious mother the boy was baptized and made his first Communion, but this was also the last for many years. The loss of three near relatives in a short time brought him in friendly relations with Franciscan monks, and later, under the influence of Father Alfari, the famous astronomer, physicist and seismologist. In 1915 he received confirmation and took up the study of the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers. Italy had just entered the war, and he was one of the first officers to go to the front. He began to keep this diary of his talks with God in May: he was in the trenches in June. The first thirty-five colloquies were written at home and the last eighteen at the front in moments of inspiration amid the crash of shrapnel and the thunder of guns. One critic says of him: "He writes with vigor, naturalness and ease, with a beauty of form unrivaled, perhaps, in the annals of modern church literature." These colloquies have been called by the most exacting of Italian critics the "finest religious literature since the Confessions of St. Augustine." In places they are comparable to the Psalms of David, in others to the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

The author foresaw death, predicted it, and met it with a bullet through his heart in one of his first battles, while leading his men in a desperate charge on Monte Cucco. These colloquies contain an eloquent lesson for those contemplating a return to their former faith. They pay a magnificent tribute to the mercy of God and give a safe guidance to those who struggle to attain the Christian ideal of life. They are filled with fervor, thanksgiving, love, and will quicken the faith of even the most casual reader.

EPISTEMOLOGY, OR THE THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE: An Introduction to General Metaphysics. By *P. Coffey, Ph. D.*, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, Maynooth College, Ireland. 2 vols., pp. 374 and 376. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

REALITY AND TRUTH: A Critical and Constructive Essay Concerning Knowledge, Certainty and Truth. By *John G. Vance, M. A., Ph. D.*, Member of British Psychological Society, Professor of Philosophy at Old Hall. 8vo., pp. 344. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

It is a pleasing coincidence that after many years of anxious waiting by students for authoritative and adequate treatment of the

theory of knowledge two such admirable books on the subject should appear at the same time without any previous arrangement. And now that they have appeared and are recognized at once as truly valuable additions to English philosophical literature, the wonder grows that we should have had to wait so long for them. This is the more surprising when we consider the industry of the enemy, and under this head we include all those incompetent, ignorant, partly educated and badly educated, so-called professors of philosophy and writers on the subject, who occupy chairs in the higher schools and universities, and ignoring Neo-Scholastic philosophy, presume to enlighten the multitude. The brief manuals of Catholic philosophy and the briefer sections in standard text books which treat this part of the subject have been painfully inadequate, and the Catholic student has often found himself but illy armed for the combat.

What a relief then and what a triumph when two champions go forth at once to fight the battle of truth: both fully equipped, both highly trained, both bearing credentials and commissions from the fountain heads of authority. They both follow the general plan of works of this kind, both reach the same conclusions and they differ only in accidentals—terminology, definitions, style.

It has been said that Dr. Coffey has written a text book for university students, while Dr. Vance addresses himself to the "plain man." This expression may explain as well as any the difference in style. Dr. Coffey's treatise is fuller though not more complete. In this instance a comparison would be more than odious. Either one will satisfy the earnest searcher after truth, and the possessor of both is to be envied.

VERY REV. CHARLES HYACINTH, MCKENNA, O. P., P. G.: *Missionary and Apostle of the Holy Name Society*. By *Very Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O. P., S. T. M.* 8vo., pp. 409. Illustrated. New York: Holy Name Bureau.

Two years before the death of Father McKenna, the provincial of the Eastern province of Dominicans in the United States appointed Father O'Daniel to prepare the biography of the great missionary. The author had known the subject of the biography for many years and was already familiar in a general way with the principal events of his life in the ministry. But during those two years of intimate association he had exceptional opportunities for verifying at first hand and in detail what was already a matter of general record, and of learning from the lips of the subject himself facts in regard to his early history and struggles that could not be

gotten in any other way. This work was done more successfully because Father McKenna never knew that he was speaking for publication, and most completely because other members of the community also gathered first-class information from time to time, and from the union of all these streams as well as from other sources came forth the complete biography.

It is most interesting, instructive and edifying. Father McKenna was an active, able churchman in this country for almost fifty years, and his activity kept pace with the growth of the Church during that time, contributing much to it. The story of his struggles and accomplishments is full of instruction not only for every priest, but for every layman. What the poor Irish boy and laboring man accomplished in fighting his way into the priesthood should encourage every poor boy who is called by God to go on courageously, and the wonders wrought by the zealous missionary who rose from such humble beginnings should spur every priest on to greater zeal.

His life may safely be held up for imitation. He was always the zealous, earnest, pious priest. His heart resembled the Sacred Heart of his Divine Master in its burning love for souls. He desired with a great desire to see that fire enkindled which Christ came to cast on earth. He was eaten up by his zeal for God's house.

GOD AND MAN: Lectures on Dogmatic Theology, from the French of the Rev. L. Labanche, S. S. Two volumes, 8vo., pp. 376 and 340. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

"Since the beginning of the nineteenth century Rationalists have set about attacking Catholic dogma with altogether new tactics. They have striven to show that our most fundamental dogmas, at no matter what period of their history we consider them, whether upon their first appearance in Holy Writ, or at the time of their conciliar definition, are an altogether human product. Such criticism, confined for a time within certain intellectual circles, has gradually worked its way into the different classes of society and has given rise to that Modernism denounced and condemned by Pope Pius X. in the Encyclical '*Pascendi gregis domnici*.' Now, this is just the objection that we are most desirous of combating. We have undertaken to show that Catholic dogma, on the contrary, at whatever period of its history we examine it, remains absolutely inexplicable so far as contingent causes are concerned, and that it requires always, now under one form, now under another, the intervention of the Holy Spirit."

In this way the author states what he calls the master idea that guides his work.

The first volume is divided into three parts: "The Most Holy Trinity," "The Incarnate Word" and "Christ the Redeemer." The second volume is divided into four parts: "The State of Original Innocence," "Original Sin," "Grace" and "Man and His Future State." The book, though comparatively brief, is remarkably complete and clear. St. Thomas is the guiding theologian throughout. The statement of the doctrine of the Church, the quotations from the Sacred Scriptures, the declarations of the councils and teachings of the Fathers are all set forth with due appreciation of their relative values, and in such logical order as to lead to the conclusion in the most convincing manner. The translation is excellently well done, and there is scarcely any evidence of the book's foreign origin.

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND CATHOLIC PRAYER BOOK. Large, very legible type. Printed on thin India paper. Pocket shape. Strong, flexible binding. Contains card of identification. Bound in khaki or black cloth; net, 35 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Though there are many editions of the New Testament, this is the first time it has been combined with a prayer book and issued in a very legible type, in convenient pocket size. Bulk has been eliminated by using the thin India paper. This paper, though so thin, is very tough and stands more wear than ordinary paper. To have the New Testament and the most necessary and useful prayers combined in one volume is certainly a great advantage that will be appreciated by Catholic soldiers and sailors who have gathered to the colors in such large numbers.

THE EXTERNALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH: Her Government, Ceremonies, Festivals, Sacraments and Devotions. By *Rev. John F. Sullivan*. 12mo., 385. Second edition revised. New York: J. P. Kenedy & Sons.

This book is intended to give a clear, brief account of the principal ceremonies and devotions of the Catholic Church, sufficient and necessary for the Catholic public in general, without pretending to be exhaustive or complete. While it includes over five hundred subjects within its pages, a larger number than can be found in any other volume of its size, it must necessarily exclude some. It is not likely, however, that the general reader will look in vain for information.

Glancing at the table of contents we notice chapters on the Gov-

ernment of the Church, the Religious State, the Sacraments, Mass, Sacramentals, Liturgical Books, the Ecclesiastical Year, Devotions and Miscellaneous.

The explanations are very simple and clear, as explanations should be—otherwise they do not explain. It is gratifying to know that the book has been appreciated, which is shown by the call for a second edition. It should have a continuous sale, because Catholics should all and always be prepared to explain the history, doctrine and ceremonies of their religion. They cannot do so unless they are instructed, and experience shows only too convincingly that knowledge must come by the eye as well as the ear in order to be complete and lasting. This book is an excellent eye teacher.



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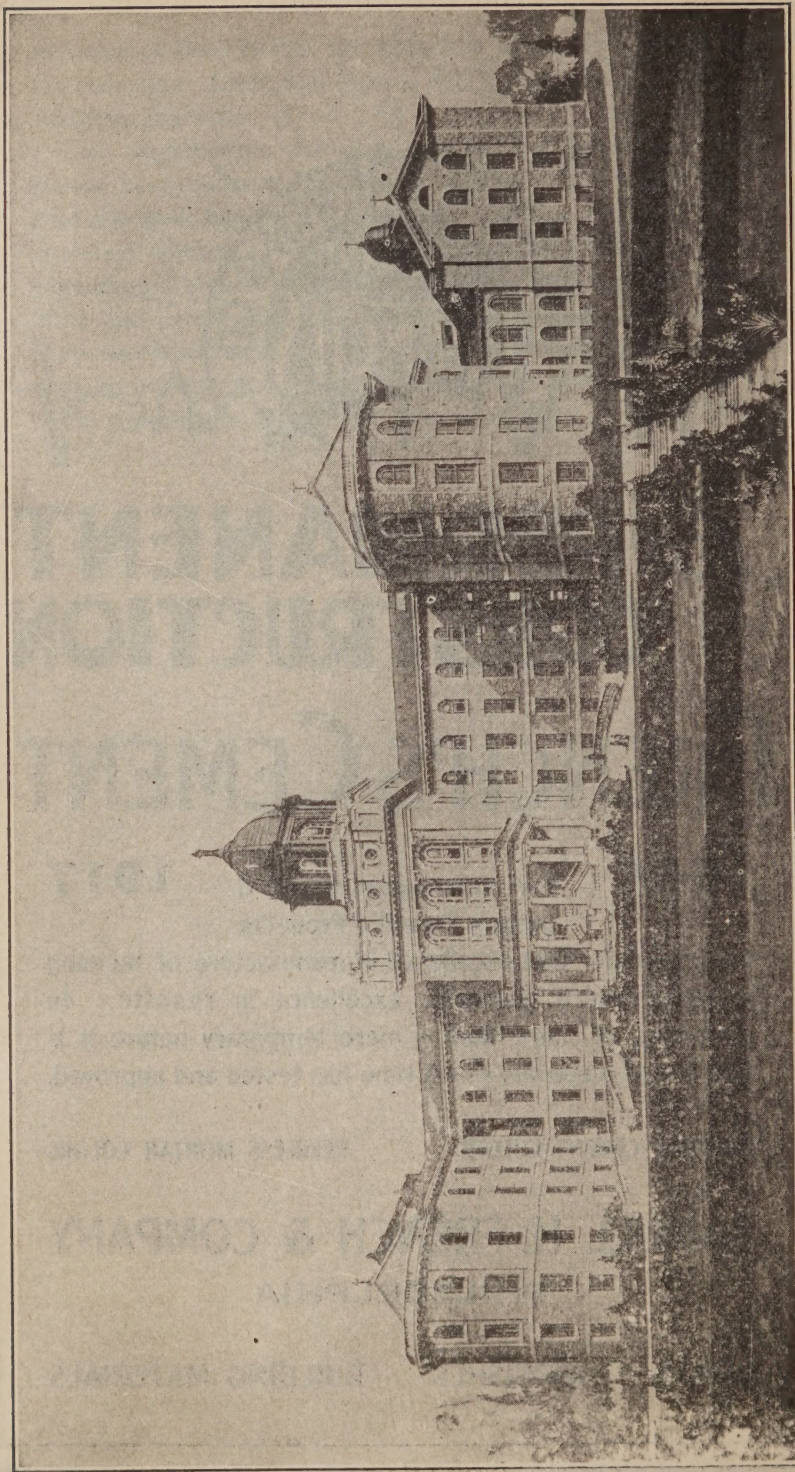
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